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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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15 October 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN PRESS NOTES PROBLEMS IN USSR

Energy, Shortfalls, Work Ethic

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by Julia Szaszi: "Gorbachev Tour of Country; Concerning Problems and Tasks--First Hand"]

[Text] The chronicles have not recorded in detail the serious--even according to the television news--talks which Mikhail Gorbachev had on his most recent tour of the country, first with the oil miners and gas producers in Western Siberia and then with those working in agriculture and on machine stations in Kazakhstan. But the interest of the first secretary in the everyday lives of these people, living under conditions which are not easy, cannot be called formal. Information received at first hand no doubt offered clarification about where aid is most urgent and perhaps clarified better why there are shortfalls, why some of the tasks put forward in the general interest have not been realized.

The choice of trip goals indicated that even on this occasion Gorbachev was not traveling several thousand kilometers to pay a courtesy visit, and would hardly be satisfied with supplementing known facts with impressions gathered on the spot. Both areas visited by him are of crucial importance from the viewpoint of the intensive development of the Soviet economy; they are centers for the implementation of major programs on which these developmental plans are built. And it is a less gratifying common trait of them that up to now the expected results have not been achieved. Carelessness, lack of understanding, poor organization or ignoring the requirements of the age can hardly be left at that; the accumulating problems cannot be regarded as local ones--their effect is of national scale.

This applies especially to western Siberia. Nature has been bountiful to this region, in regard to the treasures deep in the earth. The Tyumen oil fields and Urengoy gas deposits are legendary, known in East and West; at home and abroad they expect to get indispensable raw materials from here. It is also known with what climate conditions this economy is coupled, what trials are presented by the long, cold winters and the short, wet summers, accompanied by invasions of mosquitoes. Nor is it a secret that there have been problems with the Tyumen oil production for years. Those who did not note the data of the

periodic plan reports about shortfalls and stagnating, sometimes even declining production, can inform themselves from the articles proliferating in the daily press. There is always a mention here of the objective difficulties, but it is also mentioned that inaction and defenselessness cannot be permitted in the last quarter of the 20th century. This also applies to the circumstances of those living here; their morale might be improved with adequate housing, better supply, a more perfect satisfaction of their needs, so they are justified in criticizing those who have carelessly neglected this.

As for production, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU cited primarily the lack of due foresight. Today's problems did not develop from one moment to the next; it should have been recognized that the initial extraction methods could not be used forever, that the reserves which could be brought to the surface easily would be exhausted. They should have worked out work methods adjusted to the new conditions; instead, the central and local economic guidance authorities were slow in revising their thinking. Increasing the load on the great deposits counterbalanced the backwardness only temporarily; later it worsened the problems. And with this the construction industry, transportation and machine manufacture also got into a difficult situation. Gorbachev called attention to the fact that the conclusions from this should be drawn in the gas industry as well--which at least for the time being appears to be free of trouble now--not only in regard to management of the deposits but also in regard to technical development and automation.

This is not to say that these problems were not on the agenda constantly. They are known, and the way to solve them is no mystery. But in most cases all this remained on paper, as Gorbachev noted when he said at the aktiv conference in Tyumen: "The effectiveness of the policy of the party is not decided by the number of words and resolutions, but rather by practical, concrete steps." And this requires that every member of society bear full responsibility for the matters entrusted to him. But this points beyond the oil mining of Tyumen or the gas production of Urengoy, and is valid for any part of the economy. It is valid, for example, for the agricultural activity being done on the virgin lands of Kazakhstan, which is especially important for we are talking about one of the granaries of a nation of 280 million, about whether the everyday food of the people can be produced from their own strength, and if so in what quality.

Gorbachev, who is an agricultural industry expert and himself worked in this area, did not for a minute cast doubt on the achievements which can be recorded since the announcement of the foodstuffs program in May of 1982. Production value, as can be shown by data, increased for virtually all crop types, but one cannot glory in the success with folded arms because even now foodstuffs supply to the Soviet people is not entirely solved. For example, the per capita consumption of meat and fruit is less than ideal. But on the other hand, for the past 4 years Kazakhstan has failed to fulfill the plan in regard to most of the important agricultural products.

There are many reasons for the shortfall, and as many possibilities for eliminating the errors. One thing should be avoided--blaming the weather for every trouble. The solution is not witchcraft, it is simply taking advantage, for example, of everything which the technical development of the age makes

possible. For example, what happened in Kurgan should not happen; production declined by 5 percent while the value of fixed assets increased by 12 percent. All the possibilities in the area of developing agricultural industry are far from being exploited--adhering to technological discipline, technical renewal, better machine use and lots of rationalization in big and little things, including being economical. All this could certainly bring results.

Taking into consideration the experiences gained on the spot the Politburo summarized what has to be done in connection with the two areas. In the communique issued concerning the meeting evaluating the visit to western Siberia and Kazakhstan there is mention of the absolute need for technical development but there is also mention of the importance of the human factor. The latter is mentioned not only in the sense that greater attention is required from individual people but also in the sense that they themselves should expect a constant improvement of their circumstances.

The talks in Tyumen, Urengoy and Tselinograd also contributed to a comprehensive designation of the tasks. One could feel something which the world press is writing much and happily about these days, what it calls dynamism, drive, a new style of work. Gorbachev himself talked about this last thing in a statement given to the American weekly TIME. "The method is not at all new, but it is impossible to work otherwise today," the first secretary said then, referring to personal contact, listening to the opinions of people.

Unethical Party Member Behavior

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 13 Sep 85 p 2

[MTI reports from Moscow: "KOMMUNIST Deals with Moral Behavior of Party Members"]

[Text] The most recent issue of KOMMUNIST deals with the requirements placed upon the moral behavior of party members, under the heading "Preparations for the 27th Congress of the CPSU."

According to the lead article in the journal of the Central Committee the report and leadership election meetings of the primary organizations of the CPSU prior to the congress will make it possible to implement modern cadre policy requirements. The elected offices will be filled by energetic communists most suitable for them, those who enjoy public respect and know their jobs. At the same time they will get rid of colleagues who are unfit to take initiative, who have not honored the trust.

Especially great attention must be turned to the moral behavior of party members.

Some party members, including leaders, could be caught in the act falsifying official documents, misappropriating funds, accepting bribes and profiteering. Although the number of these is extraordinarily tiny, still they cause serious moral and political damage to the party. There are those who use their official assignments for selfish purposes, for example to build weekend houses, to acquire the goods needed for a petit bourgeois life and to give

various advantages to their acquaintances. Frequently we are excessively indulgent of those who strive to obtain unfair material advantages. Nor can we be indulgent in regard to those party members who violate the party resolutions passed against alcoholism, the lead article in KOMMUNIST points out.

Current Domestic Concerns

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 14 Sep 85 p 2

[Interview with Soviet Academician Anatoliy Yegorov by Gabor Szathmari: "Jointly for Socialism"]

[Text] This week--as we have reported--a 4 day conference was held at Balatonaliga for directors and other leaders of scientific institutes working with the central committees of communist and workers' parties. Among the representatives of 22 institutes from 19 countries participating in the exchange of ideas was Academician Anatoliy Yegorov, a representative in the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee, with whom we talked about the results of the conference and new phenomena of Soviet social science research.

[Question] In your judgment what profit was gained from this 4-day exchange of views?

[Answer] We learned here from each other many valuable things about the achievements of social science research over the past year and a half. It is already a tradition that the scientific institutes of the fraternal parties exchange their research experiences at such international conferences. Not much time has passed since our previous meeting, held in Hanoi, but big, important questions have emerged in most of the socialist countries, making it necessary for us to meet more frequently, so we can make better use of each other's experiences.

[Question] What sort of questions are you thinking of?

[Answer] Such things as intensifying production, accelerating technical-scientific progress, substantially increasing productivity, modernizing the social relationships of the socialist system, developing social self-administration, and in general better utilizing the action readiness of citizens in order to reach the goals of socialism. These today are the chief questions in scientific research on the real social problems of socialism. Now we have talked here, for example, about how we might study these themes more profoundly, how research on new social phenomena might be made more effective.

[Question] These new social phenomena, however, can be found in very different forms in the various socialist countries.

[Answer] This is natural. A regular exchange of experiences is also important, since the creation of the socialist community not only has the effective scope of the objective laws of socialism broadened but new laws have arisen as well--for example, those governing the economic and cultural cooperation of

the socialist countries--which are characteristic marks of the socialist community. The essence and effect of these common lawful relationships cannot be understood by studying individual socialist countries by themselves. If our judgments and findings are to be reliable we must attend to the totality of the experiences of building socialism, and every country contributes to this with its own experiences. But the concrete problems of the various socialist countries can be understood correctly only by starting from the general laws of socialism as well. These general laws appear in the different countries in unique ways depending on the concrete conditions of the socialist construction of the given country. This is why regular consultations and mutual exchanges of experiences by the social researchers of the fraternal parties is so important. And naturally it is so also because the theory of Marxism-Leninism is enriched by summing up and generalizing the social experiences and thus one can follow the development of common trends in socialist development.

So every participant at our conference listened with great attention and interest to the information given by Gyorgy Aczel, Janos Berecz and other Hungarian participants in our exchange concerning the experiences of socialist building work in Hungary, concerning the resolutions passed at the 13th congress of the MSZMP, concerning the achievements and problems of society-building activity and the search for paths serving to solve the problems.

[Question] What are the most important tasks of the Soviet social science workshops today?

[Answer] As in most socialist countries the most important tasks in the Soviet Union now are the intensification of the economy and acceleration of technical progress. We should not treat these tasks as a narrow economic question because it is obvious that they can be solved only with a many-sided mobilization of the potential of society. To reach our goals we must better exploit not only the reserves of the economy but also the reserves of society, such as the moral reserves, among other things.

Starting from this we have the important task of studying more profoundly the factors of the technological and scientific as well as the socio-cultural--i.e. material and mental--development, as they affect one another. For example, we must study more profoundly the essence and role of the public interest, how changes in social circumstances affect the social division of labor. There is another direction to our studies; while the interest of the masses in our homeland in the development of social self-administration is growing, that is, taking part in the handling of public matters, and while millions are very active in the councils, in social organizations and in place of work communities, some individual people and some groups of citizens are passive. It is important for us to know why the work activity and social activity of people do not coincide in every case.

We are devoting great attention in our research work to coordinating and correctly interpreting individual, group and social interests. Naturally, social interests are regarded as primary, but the possibilities for the realization of the other two areas of interest cannot be neglected either. The social effort connected with strengthening work discipline and a stricter stipulation of behavioral norms is also challenging Soviet social research. We

think that the interdependence between discipline and interest relationships is obvious.

[Question] Recently less is being said among you than earlier about the building of communism. Party resolutions and scientific publications now designate the perfection of socialist social relationships as the chief task. What is your opinion about this?

[Answer] Even in the first years of Soviet power Lenin was saying that in the midst of solving our daily tasks we should not forget the goal toward which we wanted to progress, building a communist society. This is still our position today.

The work today being done for the further perfection of socialist society should not be opposed to the more distant goal of building communism. On the contrary, everything we do today serves to lay the foundations for our ultimate goal, the communist society. To give an example, socialist social self-administration is a reality of Soviet life today. We consider this extraordinarily important. But naturally we never forget about communist social self-administration either. Life teaches us, however, that it is not good to run ahead in the formation of social relationships or jump over developmental phases. We feel that with the development of socialist social self-administration we can lay the foundations most reliably for the communist social self-administration of the future.

At one time a concept gained ground among us that the chief path for the development of social self-administration would be if social organizations gradually took over the functions of the state organs. Naturally there has been, is and will be such a process in Soviet society, but the chief path leading to communist social self-administration involves a development of the entire political system of Soviet society. Naturally with the guidance of the party. So in our day the foundations of communist social self-administration are being built, they can be discovered already in our social reality, the trends of the future can be felt. We want to view our affairs strictly on the soil of realities. So for this reason our chief task now is strengthening and developing socialist social self-administration. We have never and will never take the cause of building communism off the agenda. On the contrary, when we work on accelerating socio-economic development we are actually accelerating our progress toward communism.

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BULGARIA

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL STRESSES FREEDOM OF CULTS

'Complete Freedom'

[Article by Lyubomir Popov, deputy foreign minister and chairman of the Committee on the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and Religious Cults]

Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 pp 12-13

[Text]

In this country as in most developed nations, the church is separate from the state. After September 9th, 1944 the social status and rights of all religious denominations and the respective ecclesiastical organizations were made equal. Discrimination on grounds of religious denomination was abolished. Religious people in this country enjoy complete freedom of professing and observing their respective faiths.

Chapter III of the Bulgarian Constitution enshrines a basic principle: the equality of all citizens before the law. Any discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin, religion, race, education and social and material status is completely ruled out. Article 53 of the Constitution ensures complete freedom of conscience and faith, the performance of religious rites included. These constitutional provisions are elaborated in a number of texts of the Law on Religious Denominations. According to Article 4: 'No person may be persecuted or restricted in exercising his or

her civic and political rights, nor can be relieved of the execution of the duties entrusted to him by the law as a consequence of his adherence to any creed, or of his not professing any religion. And Article 5 stipulates that in their organizational structure, rites and services the denominations may be guided by their canons, dogmas and statutory principles. This is also provided for in Articles 164 and 165 of the Penal Code where severe punishment is stipulated for anyone who advocates hatred on a religious basis, or by violence or threats prevents citizens from worshipping according to their faiths.

The most widespread denomination in Bulgaria now is the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, with an acknowledged historic role in the formation of the Bulgarian nationality eleven centuries ago and its preservation in subsequent ages. The head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church - Patriarch Maxim - recently turned 70. For his birthday and in recognition of his services to

the nation, he was awarded the Order of the 13th Centenary of Bulgaria by the State Council. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church and its priests function with absolute freedom: from the metropolitans and the members of the Holy Synod to the parish priests; in open churches in towns and villages, and monks and nuns in the monasteries.

The muslim faith in Bulgaria also functions freely. Muslims profess their religion in accordance with the Koran in their places of worship, the mosques. The muslim religious organization in Bulgaria is headed by the Chief Mufti based in Sofia. Regional muftis in seven district centres in the country and hundreds of imams in towns and villages cater for believing muslim Bulgarians. Apart from the Orthodox and muslim Bulgarians, freedom of religion is also ensured to Bulgarian Catholics (from both denominations: the Western, or Roman Catholics and the Eastern Catholics, called uniates) as well as to believing Bulgarians professing any of the various Protestant cults such as Pentecostalists, Adventists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists. They all have their bishops, ministers, pastors, monks, nuns etc. Their churches and houses of worship are open and provide for religious services in accordance with their canons and dogmas. The Armenian Gregorians and the Israelites headed by their central offices, the Eparchial Council of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church and the Central Israelite

Religious Council, also function freely and normally, in accordance with their religious rules.

None of the religions professed in any particular state is the sole preserve of that state, since religious faiths are spread through many countries. That is why they cannot be regarded as national. This is especially true of such world-wide religions as Christianity, Islam and others. That is why religious faith and religious consciousness cannot be confused with national consciousness. That is why no state in the world and no government can claim the sole right of being the custodians of any particular religion. Those who proclaim themselves to be the sole guardians of any one religion open the way for interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations, which is a gross violation of international legal norms.

It is known that in the course of decades many citizens of this country who originally bore names untraditional for the Bulgarians have exercised their right to change them. This can in no way be regarded denigration of one or another religion because there are no religious norms determining personal names. Moreover, changing one's name is a legal and long-standing practice in many countries, Bulgaria included. Our state provides material assistance to the religious denominations without which they would find it very difficult to pay the salaries of their clergy and to support themselves financially. The state budget also provides

considerable sums for the restoration of monuments of cultural and historic significance: churches, mosques, houses of prayer etc. The socialist state regards these religious monuments as part of the country's cultural and historic heritage. It looks after them regardless of the denomination to which they belong. Evidence of this is substantial and can be seen everywhere.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria has achieved patriotic and socialist unity of all citizens, believers and non-believers alike. The organizations of the various churches appreciate the prin-

ciples of separation of church and state, and freedom of conscience that have been adopted, and are grateful for the state's solicitude for their activities. Believers of all denominations support the socialist system established by the will of the people and take an active part in the building up of a developed socialist society. They support the country's foreign policy, whose essence is a principled and consistent struggle for peace and cooperation with all nations, the preservation of world peace and the promotion of good neighbourly and mutually beneficial cooperation among the Balkan states.

Rebuttal To 'Slander'

Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 pp 12-13

[Text]

Open letter of the Chief Mufti and the regional muftis of the Muslims of Bulgaria sent to the Bulgarian Press Agency in protest at the slanderous allegations of restrictions of the freedom of the Muslim religion in Bulgaria. All mosques in the country are open and religious services are performed regularly. The letter reads in full:

Recently some of the major news agencies in the West have reported that Muslims in Bulgaria are being forced to change their names and that the Moslems are hindered in the exercise of their religion, that mosques and other Bulgarian Moslem shrines are being demolished. It has also been reported that the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has summoned the ambassadors of Islamic countries accredited in Ankara before whom similar allegations have been presented and that these Islamic countries have been asked to intercede with the Bulgarian government on behalf of Moslem Bulgarians.

We, the leaders of the Islamic faith in the People's Republic of Bulgaria cannot but immediately react to these slanderous and false allegations concerning the Moslem Bulgarians and our fatherland - the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We declare explicitly and unequivocally that Moslems in Bulgaria enjoy the full freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. They can freely profess the Islamic faith and can freely exercise their religious rites, which, incidentally is a freedom guaranteed to all other creeds. All mosques in the country are functioning and clergymen officiate at their religious services on a regular

basis. There are no cases of Moslems being impeded or in any way restrained as regards the performance of their religious services and rites. There have been no cases of encroachment upon a mosque or any other Islamic monument.

We ask ourselves who has given the Turkish Foreign Ministry the right to become a spokesman for Islam and who has given it the right to judge and decide on questions which are within the exclusive competence of Moslem Bulgarians? Islam is a world religion and each Moslem is entitled to his or her national name. We call upon our brother Moslems across the world not to allow the Islamic religion to be associated with the self-seeking political ends of a certain state or to permit the sacred feelings of millions of worshippers to be abused and manipulated.

We take the opportunity to thank the Bulgarian socialist state for guaranteeing our constitutional

freedoms and for the financial assistance which it renders us each year so our creed can support itself and our religious organization function normally. We are also grateful for the care which the state takes to restore and preserve Islamic monuments of culture and history.

We kindly ask you to bring our letter to the notice of the public abroad and inform it that we categorically reject the slanders against our people and homeland, aimed at discrediting the People's Republic of Bulgaria and at thwarting the promotion of her relations with states inhabited by Moslems.

The open letter is signed by the Chief Mufti M.Topchiev, and the regional muftis for Plovdiv and Kurdjali, K.Kurdov; for Shoumen, E.Demirov; for Tolboukhin, H.Houbenov; for Razgrad, I.Georgiev; for Aitos S.Hadjiev; and for Smolyan C.Iliev.

BULGARIA

JOINT VENTURES WITH USSR TERMED SUCCESSFUL

Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 14

[Text]

establishment of .ms,
prises and assoc is an im-
portant means of raising the efficiency
of cooperation among the CMEA coun-
tries. This recognition came from the
1984 Moscow Economic Summit of
the CMEA countries. For several years
now this form of cooperation has been
successfully used in Soviet-Bulgarian
economic, scientific and technological
relations, said Valentin Terehov, an
attache of scientific and technological
matters at the Soviet embassy in
Sofia. In 1975 the joint association
Electroinstrument was set up, uniting
Elprom of Bulgaria and
Soyuzstroinstrument of the Soviet
Union. The association is now working
out a long-term programme up to the
year 2000. In 1990 Bulgaria will
export one million electric motors to
the USSR. The production capacities
of the Elprom plant in the town of
Lovech will be increased ac-
cordingly. This speaks volumes for the
increased trade relations between the
two countries.

At present there are ten joint
associations. The work of the
Bulgarian-Soviet Institute Inter-
programma has been fruitful. Since its
establishment in 1977 specialists from
the institute have developed and
handed over to the respective national

services 88 programme systems which
have been introduced in over 750
projects in the USSR and resulted in
an economic effect of about 33 million
rubles.

The work force of the Sov-
bolgartsvetmetal joint design bureau
have also obtained good results.
Within five years the bureau has
developed several makes of ore-
dressing machines with different
chamber volumes and various types of
powerful pumps. This type of
machinery and equipment will be
manufactured jointly by the Bulgarian
plant Komsomolets and by a Soviet
plant for the manufacture of mining
equipment in the Ural.



CSO: 2020/238

BULGARIA

LONG-TERM RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA

Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 14

[Text]

The Sixth Session of the Joint Bulgarian-Ethiopian Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation held in Addis Ababa reviewed the fulfilment of the initiatives contained in the document Guidelines for the Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation between Bulgaria and Ethiopia for 1981-1985. The Session also discussed plans for the establishment of a model economy for the production of cotton, tobacco and citrus fruit, and examined the possibilities for joint work in the improvement of irrigation and construction of agricultural equipment plants, small enterprises for the processing of farm produce, enterprises for the manufacture of household appliances and for structural and sanitary earthenware. Bulgarian specialists are to design land improvement projects, and to help with the maintenance of agricultural equipment and the establishment of a national design organization in Ethi-

opia.

The Session will contribute to the strengthening of the long-term economic ties between the two countries. Since 1981 trade between them has increased by nearly 17 times. Bulgarian exports to Ethiopia include machine tools, agricultural equipment, medicines, ready-to-wear clothes, fruits, vegetables and canned products. From Ethiopia this country imports cotton, coffee and hides. Many Bulgarian engineering organizations are helping with the construction of a series of agricultural projects in Ethiopia. Agrocomplekt, for example, are designing 36 agro-industrial projects such as stock-breeding farms, poultry farms, fodder plants and dairy farms. Bulgarian specialists are also assisting in the construction of enterprises of the young Ethiopian industry. Bulgarian-Ethiopian cooperation is increasingly developing on a long-term planned basis.

CSO: 2020/238

BULGARIA

'WEEK OF BRITISH ECONOMY' HELD IN SOFIA

Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 pp 14-15

[Text]

Sofia played host to the Week of British Economy organized by the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the British Council for Foreign Trade, in conjunction with the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Bulgarreklama Agency. Participating in this undertaking were representatives of 31 British firms and banks as well as the directors of 40 Bulgarian import-export organizations. The British delegation for the event was headed by Lord Shackleton, President of the Council for Trade with Eastern Europe, a prominent politician, scientist and economist, the initiator and executor of a series of useful ideas which contribute to improving the climate between the East and the West.

'Bilateral economic relations in recent years have been making a favourable, steady progress,' said Peter Roussev, President of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Trade, while opening the Week. 'I think that this joint initiative will further contribute to expanding and deepening Bulgarian-British trade relations,' he added.

In his brief speech Lord Shackleton stressed that Bulgaria's successes in machine building and electronics are well known in Great Britain. He noted the steady progress the Bulgarian

economy has been making as a whole, and that the Bulgarian market is very attractive. He also said that there is a comparatively favourable credit situation for British business here and that Britain is closely following the economic development of this country and is interested in its new economic mechanism. In conclusion he said that he is pleased that there is a mutual desire for cooperation.

On the photo: Lord Shackleton (left) and Georgi Pirinski, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade during the Week of British Economy in Sofia.



CSO: 2020/238

BULGARIA

BULGARCONSULT IN ARAB WORLD

Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 15

[Text]

In Kuwait the Bulgarconsult engineering company and the Kuwaiti firm Arabconsult have signed a contract with the Association of Egyptian Citizens in Kuwait on the designing of a resort complex for 12,000 tourists near Alexandria in Egypt.

Bulgarconsult is a firm which deals with the survey and design of projects in this country and abroad and provides consultations and technical assistance. Its activities include territorial and settlement structure, town planning, architecture, standardization and industrialization of construction, surveying, photogrammetry, cartography, engineering infrastructure, etc. Set up in 1984, Bulgarconsult has now established good business contacts with firms from many countries. In Algeria, for example, it has designed governmental residences and presidential palaces, in Ethiopia — a National Congress Hall, in Nigeria — a trade centre, and in Tunisia

— a sports complex. It has been carrying out territorial planning in Libya, Angola and Laos, and hydro-engineering planning in Tangier-Morocco, etc.

The Association of Egyptian Citizens in Kuwait invited projects for designing a holiday village with 900 villas each with 120 square metres of living space, 200 twin villas of 80 square metres each, two- and three-storeyed buildings with a total of 600 apartments of 120 square metres each, as well as a shopping and public centre, an administrative centre, a communal service centre, little town for children with entertainment games, swimming pools, parks, campsites, parking lots and a medical centre. The contract was awarded to Bulgarconsult in the face of competition from 26 foreign firms.

It is considered to be a great success if a firm is awarded seven contracts from 100 tenders submitted. Bulgarconsult has been successful with about 20 of its tenders from 100 bids.

CSO: 2020/238

BULGARIA

NEW INDUSTRY IN WASTE MATERIALS

Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 15

[Text]

Around ten million tons of fuel waste are dumped each year from thermo-electric power stations using solid fuel. This is mainly ash and cinder which creates problems for the environment. There are over 100 million tons of fuel waste stored by thermo-electric power stations. By the year 2000 over 20 million tons of waste will be dumped each year, and the storehouses will have around 800 million tons of the stuff to dispose of. These are valuable prime and raw materials, and some are energy resources. The Varna thermo-electric power station as well as other electric power stations in Northern Bulgaria which use anthracite and coal will be dumping ash which contains 20-30 per cent of unburnt articles. A radical solution to this problem has been found which will provide the basis for the creation of a new industry in Bulgaria. What this means is the comprehensive in-depth processing of ash and coal fraction. As a result several products will be obtained: carbon (coal) concentrate with a calorific effect of 5,600-6,000 kilo-calories per

kilogram; cinder sand and processed ash containing from two to four per cent of unburnt coal particles. This ash meets the technical requirements for the production of cement, concrete, etc.

Once the new technology has been introduced, the coal concentrate from the Varna thermo-electric power station alone will amount to 120,000 tons a year. In addition, there will be 80,000 tons of cinder sand and around 200,000 tons of processed ash. In this way the Varna power station will be an excellent example of the utilization of waste-free technology. Also each year the Devnya cement plant receives over 120,000 tons of trass from Kurdjali and slag from the blast furnace of the Brezhnev iron and steel works near Sofia — this is transported by 6,000 wagons carrying the material a distance of 400 kilometres.

The new developments has been patented and can be applied in all electric power stations using anthracite and coal.

CSO: 2020/238

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

GOLD MEDALS FROM LEIPZIG--At this year's spring fair in Leipzig Bulgarian products have been awarded gold medals. These are the RB-212 industrial robot, designed for depositing or removing lacquer and paint coatings and for sand-blasting processing of parts and assemblies, and also the four-wheeled all-purpose forklift of the Drouzhba family of electric trucks. The innovations in such leading industrial sectors as machine-building, electronics, electrical engineering and metallurgy attracted the attention of many specialists and visitors to the Bulgarian stand. The exposition demonstrated the growing export potential of Bulgarian economy. Many of the products on show were the result of Bulgaria's fruitful integration with the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries. [Text] [Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 14]

TRIPOLI FAIR--Bulgaria's traditional participation in the Tripoli Fair is an expression of the good economic relations between Bulgaria and Libya. A total of 26 Bulgarian foreign trade and engineering organizations exhibited at this year's Fair in Tripoli. Machine-building, the most rapidly developing economic sector, featured prominently in the Bulgarian exposition. The import-export organizations Machinexport, Electroimpex, Izotimpex and Telecom exhibited metal-working and wood-processing machines, refrigerator parts and units, electric motors, and electronic climate control system for green houses, UHF system and devices, among others. Technoexportstrol, Technoexport, Technoimport and Agrokomplekt demonstrated, by the use of models and coloured prints, their capabilities for the delivery of complete plant and engineering services, while Chimimport, Pharmachim and Industrial-Import displayed the growing export possibilities of the Bulgarian chemical, pharmaceutical and light industries. Other Bulgarian foreign trade organizations such as Balkancar, Balkancarpodem and Agromachinaimpex exhibited engineering trucks of the Record family, various types of electric hoists, soil cultivators, different kinds of pumps and sprinklers. Also on show at the fair were products of the Bulgarian light industry. [Text] [Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 14]

PROTECTIVE ANTICORROSIVE FILM--Solar-energy installations for warming water operate in difficult temperature conditions. All problems related to ensuring the continuous and reliable operation of these installations are important and topical. Associate Professor Milko Yovchev from the Lenin Institute of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering in Sofia has developed a conservation solution for solar-energy installations which has been recognized as an invention.

The use of the new method results in a highly protective effect. In addition, it requires no continuous control and is non-toxic. The anti-corrosive film is obtained after the solar-energy installation is washed with the solution just once. [Text] [Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 14]

FIRST BULGARIAN PROSPECTING DRILL--Bulgaria is among several countries in the world to manufacture drilling equipment for geological prospecting. The economic works for heavy industry in Rousse has mastered the production of prospecting drills that are to operate up to a depth of 80 metres, and at an angle of 60 degrees in relation to the horizon. They have a 16-metre folding mast, which rises and falls by means of a special jointed device. This makes it easy to transport from place to place. The prospecting drills of the YC-5 type conform to the highest technical standards and will meet the needs of Bulgaria and will also be exported to the Soviet Union and other countries. [Text] [Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 15]

FLEXIBLE AUTOMATED PRODUCTION SYSTEM--This system is used for the final treatment of a whole range of cogwheels. It incorporates six Bulgarian inventions in the sphere of hydroplastic treatment of parts and units. The new system was developed at the Hydroplastika Scientific and Production Enterprise in Gabrovo. It consists of six modules through which the cogwheels pass consecutively. The first module treats the inner aperture of the cogwheels both mechanically and hydroplastically. In the second module a set of machines cut the ratchet teeth. This is followed by the removal of shavings and oil and by the phosphating in the tubs of the third module. The cogwheels then go to the next module where they are subjected to the final hydroplastic treatment which is 12 times more efficient than the final treatments used up till now. This done, a robot takes the cogwheels to the fifth module where the ratchet teeth are tempered on the surface. Finally the last module where the bearings in the central aperture are hammered in. The productivity of the new system is 400 cogwheels per hour. It is serviced by one operator and each stage of the treatment and of the operation as a whole is controlled by a microprocessor. [Text] [Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 15]

LASER DENTIST--We are referring to a helium-neon laser with a capacity of 25 milliwatts. Its light is radiated in the visible area of the spectrum and the diameter of the laser beam is four mm. It is used for denistry being fitted out on a stomatological unit developed and manufactured at the Optika scientific and production works in Sofia. The new device will be used in anti-inflammatory, pain-killing and stimulating therapy and other dental complaints. The period of radiation can be controlled within the range of one second to 60 minutes. A pedal switches the machine on and off which helps the dentist a great deal. This laser can be successfully used in physiotherapy and in the treatment of some skin diseases, etc. [Text] Sofia BULGARIA TODAY in English No 450, 1985 p 15]

CSO: 2020/238

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LENART VISITS CYBERNETICS INSTITUTE

LD272322 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 27 Sep 85

[Text] Josef Lenart, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, today in Bratislava visited the Institute of Technical Cybernetics of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Ivan Plander, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Correspondent member, the director of the institute, briefed him on the current results of work of the institute and on its aims in the forthcoming 5-year period.

Comrade Lenart familiarized himself with the work of the international base [as heard] laboratory on artificial intelligence, which has been active since 1983 and which specializes in solving basic problems of this new scientific discipline.

During his tour of individual sections of the institute Comrade Lenart was especially interested in the perspectives of development of the new generation of computer systems, in the work on the automated design of integrated circuits, in the usage of electronic lithography and in the development of certain types of computers.

In the discussion with employees of the institute he praised its current achievements. These achievements with increasing frequency are being applied in various spheres of the national economy. He also put an emphasis on better utilization of computer technology in decisionmaking and managerial activities.

Concluding his visit, Comrade Lenart stressed multilateral cooperation between the employees of the institute and the Soviet research centers, as well as with those of other CEMA member-countries.

CSO: 2400/3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY OFFICIAL OUTLINES TASKS OF PRESS

AU241955 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak both carry on 21 September, each on page 3, a 2,700-word article by Otto Cmolik, CPCZ Central Committee candidate member and CPCZ Central Committee department head, entitled "Lively Links With the People." On the occasion of the Day of the Press, Radio, and Television, [21 September], the article first reviews the history of RUDE PRAVO and the paper's significance in the history of the country's revolutionary workers movement. This year's Day of the Press, which coincides with the 65th anniversary of the first edition of RUDE PRAVO, has a particular significance in view of the preparations for the 17th CPCZ Congress, Cmolik goes on to say. "In this connection," he states, "the role of the party press, of the mass communications media, becomes particularly prominent. As in all other sectors of our society's life, the demand to critically reflect on the results of its work also applies in this sector."

After quoting from the materials of the CPCZ Central Committee session in June 1985 on the responsible role of the media, Cmolik states: "In our propaganda, particularly in the communications media, we consider it decisive that the media be firmly linked with the practical tasks of the party's policy, of the National Front, and of the socialist state. This is the basic prerequisite of the mass communications media fulfilling their mission in the spirit of the high demands of our times."

"The basic prerequisites of the socialist journalist's successful work are unconditional devotion to the cause of socialism and to the policy of the Communist Party; Marxist-Leninist convictions; and awareness of responsibility toward the working people. That is why it is imperative to devote systematic care to rearing qualified, ideologically and morally firm, journalist cadres. In this spirit it is necessary to improve the system of their political and professional training," Cmolik continues, adding that new forms must be found for perfecting Czechoslovak journalism. Among the journalists' primary tasks Cmolik then lists the effective promotion of the intensification of economy, efficiency, and quality, mainly by introducing the results of research and development in production; the active and convincing support of all that is progressive, and resolute opposition to all that hampers progress; the informed and interesting popularization of the moral and working qualities of people and of true patriotic and internationalist attitudes; the systematic and purposeful fight for man's ideas and convictions; and assistance to the broad development of the working people's initiatives.

Noting that the press must support creative work, discipline, and order, and fight complacency, waste, bad work, irresponsibility, and discrepancy between words and deeds, Cmolik points out that the media bear considerable responsibility for shaping the people's economic thinking.

He then speaks of the duty of the executive staff of ministries, economic production units, enterprises, and plants regularly to appear on the pages and programs of the mass communications media; this is a highly responsible political task, which requires both a critical and a self-critical approach, and consolidates the authority of the state, of the responsible ministerial branches, and of the staff itself, Cmolik adds.

After citing Lenin on the danger of criticism turning into slanders against people and against socialism itself, Cmolik elaborates on the proper purpose of constructive criticism, which is one of the rights but also duties of the media, above all party media.

Cmolik then deals with the role of the media in the current confrontation and in the exacerbating struggle between the forces of peace and war, progress and reaction, socialism and capitalism; and quotes Gorbachev on the need to have an ideology which maintains the offensive. "The propaganda centers of imperialism are increasingly resorting to half-truths, misinformation, and falsifications of reality, as well as to outright lies," Cmolik states; "the primary task of our propaganda is to convincingly unmask the militarist policy and reactionary intentions of imperialism and the false and insidious methods of bourgeois propaganda; to show tellingly and effectively the humanism, strength, and merits of socialism; and to inculcate a feeling of pride in our socialist fatherland within the broadest strata of our people. It continues to be of basic significance," Cmolik goes on to say, "to actively aid the deepening of international ties with the fraternal countries; to consolidate the unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union, which is the basis of our state and national freedom and security and of the happy life of our socialist fatherland; and to systematically and concretely show the deep purpose and contents of the CPSU's peace program and the immense effort made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the interests of preserving peace, saving detente, and removing the threat of a nuclear catastrophe."

Cmolik concludes by stating that the best way to consolidate the people's trust in the communications media is to deepen the media's ties with the people's life and work. After quoting Gustav Husak on the need to mobilize the entire material and spiritual potential of the society for overcoming problems in the effort to achieve speedier progress in socioeconomic and social development, Cmolik says that the main criteria of the social effects achieved by the media lie in their successfully assisting the practical implementation of the conclusions adopted by the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session.

CSO: 2400/3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DANISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

LD191352 Prague CTK in English 1320 GMT 19 Sep 85

[Text] Prague Sept 19 (CTK)--A Danish parliamentary delegation led by Folketing President Svend Jakobsen ended here today its visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home.

Before departure, Svend Jakobsen told newsmen inter alia that the visit was an inspiring experience.

He said that the delegation had frank talks with top Czechoslovak officials and that both sides were interested in expanding bilateral cooperation. Denmark attaches considerable importance also to the development of trade union, cultural, sports and other contacts.

Speaking about international issues, Svend Jakobsen emphasized the importance of talks between representatives of countries with different social systems, which help strengthen peace and in this context pointed out also the responsibility of parliaments towards voters and their role in influencing public opinion and government attitudes. Seeking ways towards lasting peace is not only an affair of super powers, he said, adding that also small countries like Czechoslovakia and Denmark must have their say.

He said his country supports the proposal for creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, stressing that such regions from which no threat could arise to the neighbouring states could be an important instrument of peace provided that the nuclear-free zones are accepted by the USSR and the U.S.A.

He said that Denmark is resolutely against any escalation of armament whether in Europe, elsewhere in the world or in outer space.

CSO: 2020/2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REGULATION ON FIREARMS POSSESSION INTERPRETED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by JUDr Jan Zigo: "Who Can Possess Firearms"]

[Text] The legal regulations regarding firearms and ammunition are contained in the law on firearms and ammunition No 147/183 of the ZBIERKA and the executory regulations for the law, which is the Federal Ministry of Interior decree No 10/1984 of the ZBIERKA. These norms in fact do not limit the idea of firearms, but distinguish precisely between the individual types of weapons which determine the permissible use and weapons permits. These are rifles, hunting shotguns, military, historical, warning, and starting guns and other explosive devices and equipment.

In this advisory article, we will limit ourselves just to the most commonly used types of firearms, that is, to rifles [gunpowder, gas, air, special, and combinations] and to hunting shotguns. The possession of a rifle is allowed basically only by the appropriate okres directorate of the ZNB [State Security]. At the request of the applicant, they issue a weapons permit for possession of a rifle. The application for issuance of a weapons permit must contain the following information from the applicant: first name, surname and maiden name where applicable, birth certificate number, date and place of birth, address of permanent residence, number of citizenship papers, employer's address, and reason for which a weapons permit is being requested. The applicant for a weapons permit must be an adult, that is, must be at least 18 years old, must have full competence for legal actions, and should be of good character and physically and mentally competent. A weapons permit is issued only to an applicant who, in addition to the above criteria, can also guarantee that the weapon will not be misused and that possession of the weapon will not be contrary to the public interest. It should be pointed out that in view of these requirements for issuing a weapons permit, no citizen has a legal right to such a permit.

The holder of a weapons permit is required to report a change in permanent residence within a given okres [or district] to the appropriate okres directorate of the ZNB within 10 days. When changing his permanent residence to another okres, the holder of a weapons permit is required within 10 days before leaving his permanent residence to present the rifle and surrender the weapons permit to the okres directorate of the ZNB at his place of permanent residence up to that time and to have the weapon removed from the records kept by that okres directorate. Furthermore, within 5 days

of moving into the new place of permanent residence, he must present the rifle and confirmation of surrender of the weapons permit to the appropriate OS [okres directorate] of the ZNB for his new place of permanent residence and have the weapon recorded in the records of that OS ZNB. The holder of the weapons permit is required to report its loss, theft, or destruction immediately to the OS ZNB which issued the weapons permit and at the same time to present the rifle for control. The holder is required to report the loss or theft of permission to acquire possession [purchase permission] of a rifle to the closest ZNB unit. Destruction of purchase permission must be reported by the holder to the unit of the ZNB which issued it. The holder of a permit for the import, export, or transit of a rifle [weapon accompanying form] must report its loss, theft, or destruction to the kraj directorate of the ZNB which issued it. If the holder of a weapons permit is declared legally incompetent, his legal representative is required to surrender the rifle, ammunition, and weapons permit to the safekeeping of the OS ZNB which issued the weapons permit within 10 days from the day when the court's decision on the declaration of legal incompetence took effect. Similarly, in the case of the death of a weapons holder, the survivors who lived in a common household with him are required to surrender the weapon to the safekeeping of the closest ZNB unit. In such cases, shotguns for hunting must be surrendered to the safekeeping of the national committee.

A person who wishes to acquire possession of a rifle and to date does not have a weapons permit submits a written application for issuance of a weapons permit, which in this case replaces the application for purchase permission. In the application, in addition to the required information, he also includes information on the method of acquiring the weapon, on its type, and if possible also on the make, calibre, and serial number. A person who wishes to acquire possession of a rifle and holds a weapons permit submits a written application for issuance of purchase permission. The application must contain all the information which is required for the application for issuance of a weapons permit with the exception of giving the employer and the medical certification of physical and mental competence to use a rifle. It must also further include information on the manner of acquiring the weapon and its type and if possible also the make, calibre, and serial number. An applicant for purchase permission for a rifle to be used for hunting is required to submit a valid hunting license for examination. A member of the forest guard in submitting an application for issuance of purchase permission is required to submit a forest guard permit. The holder of a purchase permit who has acquired possession of a rifle is required to present it for entry in the records at the OS ZNB within 5 days of acquiring the weapon and present one portion of the purchase permit. After the period of validity has run out, the holder of an unused purchase permit is required to return it immediately. There was a change in the regulations on possessing and carrying rifles on 1 April 1984 as regards registering these weapons in the firearms permits. Before that, rifles used only for hunting purposes were only registered in the hunting record lists. Since 1 April 1984, such weapons are also registered in the firearms permit. As far as shotguns are concerned, permission is not necessary for buying or acquiring possession of them. The owner is, however, required to have such a firearm registered in the hunting record lists within 5 days. Records and

execution of state administration of shotguns used for hunting purposes are performed by the okres national committees. Anyone who finds a firearm is required to report this to the appropriate ZNB unit. If the type of weapon permits and there is no danger of an accident, the finder is required also to bring the weapon to that unit.

The execution of state administration in the field of weapons and ammunition is also protected by criminal statutes. For example, under the provisions of Paragraph 185 of the Criminal Code, anyone who without permission procures or keeps an entire firearm or the components which are essential for the use of such a weapon, or assembles, produces, or procures firearms, ammunition, or explosives can be punished by 3 years' imprisonment. The offender can be punished by from 1 to 5 years' imprisonment in a case where crime is committed to a greater extent or during a state of armed readiness in the country.

6285

CSO: 2400/587

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FAMILIES IN TROUBLE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by Eneke Hanzelova, PhD, Czechoslovak Research Institute for Social Development and Labor: "Contemporary Problems With Family Development"]

[Excerpts] The democratization of intrafamily relationships is of great significance to the development of socialist society. It forms the real foundation on which the significance of emotional-psychological factors in family-marriage relationships grows. This leads to a relative lowering of material values as a decisive foundation for the marriage.

These changes reflect the complicated process of development involving the socialist family, its qualitative reformation and the formation of a new type of family-marriage relationship.

The development of the socialist family is characterized by many contradictions. One of them is the growing number of divorces. In Czechoslovakia their total number rose from 26,582 (in the CSR, 22,392; in the SSR, 4,190) in 1972 to 34,371 (CSR, 27,821; SSR, 6,550) in 1982. In 1983 there were 2.35 divorces (CSR, 2.84; SSR, 1.36) per 1,000 inhabitants.

The tendency toward divorce in Czechoslovakia is also characterized by a shift to lower age categories. Some 46 percent of the divorced marriages were between the ages of 25 and 35. Divorces of marriages with children are particularly high. In 1982 there were 27,082 such divorces (CSR, 21,861; SSR, 5,221).

The negative character of these tendencies lies in the fact that the disruption of the internal stability and the decay of the family also means the destruction of its important functions. It ceases to satisfy the basic biological and emotional-psychological needs of the individual and to fulfill the function of a significant socializing factor.

A comprehensive analysis of factors underlying these tendencies in our society is of great practical-political and moral-educational significance. It shows that the stability of marriage relationships and the family hinterland of today's family are influenced by a substantially larger number of factors than heretofore. The growth of economic independence, the educational and cultural level attained by women, their socioprofessional activity and their social

commitment unavoidably leads to higher demands with respect to the quality of partner relationships, a deeper orientation toward the emotional-psychological side of life. It is not by accident, therefore, that in 64 percent of cases it is women who file for divorce.

However, we must not perceive the complex dialectic connections and the mutual dependence of growing freedom for the socialist woman and increases in the divorce rate as though the development of socialist democracy must inevitably and constantly lead to a higher divorce rate. The family, as a small social group and a relatively closed sphere of interpersonal relationships functions on the basis of internal inherent laws. That is why the creation of harmonious relationships between husband and wife is decisively determined by the individual qualities of the socialist personality, by the development of their spiritual needs, their moral, cultural and emotional maturity.

Our society devotes constant attention to the fortification of marriage relationships. These efforts are not self-serving. They stem from the knowledge that the stability of the family is one of the decisive factors influencing its reproductive function. Statistical data indicate that childless families or families with few children break up more frequently and more rapidly than those with several children.

Apart from the direct causal dependence between the divorce rate and the reproductive function of the family, a mediated connection also exists. This is caused by the fact that the potential possibility of divorce generally leads to limiting the planned number of children in the family. The divorce situation involving marriages, unfavorable partnership relations, the uncertainty of marriage stability act as negative limiting factors with respect to the realization of the reproductive function of the family.

An exclusive right of parents is to make independent decisions with respect to the number of children the family will have. However, competence in this question does not only represent their private affair. It is a problem touching on all of society, its immediate tasks and obligations, but also the prospects of further development. After all, the socialist family has an irreplaceable position not only as a carrier of the biologic reproduction of man but, primarily, as one of the decisive socializing factors affecting children and an entire young generation. Consequently, the current trend toward reduced birth rates causes justified concern. While in 1978 Czechoslovakia had 18.4 live births per 1,000 inhabitants (CSR, 13.7; SSR, 20.8), the number had declined to 15.2 live births per 1,000 inhabitants by 1982 (CSR, 13.7; SSR, 18.3). This development represents a reflex reaction by families to the ongoing processes of the scientific-technical revolution and urbanization in a dynamically developing socialist society. It is the result of the influence of complicated aggregations of factors having a socioeconomic and a sociopsychologic character.

Fortification of the socialist family and assurance of the reliable operation of its principal function are among the most topical tasks of the present period. Consequently, the social policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is oriented toward the formation of a family based on relationships which correspond to the attainment of levels and needs of socialist practice. These goals can only be achieved through the unity of objective and subjective conditions, through the firming up of the material well-being of all of society and through intensive political-educational work.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CARE FOR ELDERLY IN CSR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jul 85 p 5

[Interview with Nasta Baumrukova, deputy minister of labor and social welfare of the CSR, by Zdena Stepankova: "So That Old Age Should Be Quiet and Balanced"; date and place not specified]

[Excerpt] Old age. The time in life when a person is diminishing in strength, when various maladies show up, when a life partner is lost, when a person remains alone. We spoke about old-age problems with Comrade Nasta Baumrukova, the deputy minister of labor and social welfare of the CSR.

[Question] When is a person old?

[Answer] I could respond by using a well-known proverb which says that everyone is as old as he feels. In the view of social welfare we classify citizens who are more than 65 years old as senior citizens and citizens who are older than 80 are placed in the category of old citizens. The division is not arbitrary. With respect to senior citizens--that is to say, those who are 65--it is anticipated that they will need some kind of social service. Naturally, not all of them. Some 65-year-old citizen would feel insulted if we asked him whether he needs anything. He is still full of strength. However, the national committees should already know something about those who are 80 years or older, they should know their state of health because in these cases, for the most part, some kind of assistance is already needed.

[Question] How many citizens in the Czech Socialist Republic belong in these two groups?

[Answer] In the first group of 65-year-old and older citizens we have virtually 12 percent of the total population; more than 2 percent are in the group which are 80 years or older. Demographers anticipate that the number of these citizens will continue to grow.

[Question] The foundation of social certainties for each citizen who is retired is his monthly retirement income. This is granted according to the principle of uniform social security. In other words, according to law. What is the case with respect to social services and who cares for them?

[Answer] We stress the comprehensive nature of social services so that an overall judgment can be made as to what an old person actually needs. I would like to remind you of only a few. In addition to retirement income, citizens can avail themselves of various types of financial assistance where they are drawing low retirement incomes, as well as regular financial grants. Last year, for example, some 400 million korunas were expended on this type of assistance.

One of the most sought-after and most useful types of assistance is the care for the elderly service; last year we provided this type of care in various forms to some 49,000 citizens, which is roughly 4 percent of all citizens older than 65 years of age. The most requested care service is the fetching of midday meals, shopping, but also more extensive care in the household. The more effective and efficient care for the elderly type of service is that which is concentrated in communal facilities. The national committees are creating such houses even from older facilities. They have the advantage in that the residents have their privacy, they can take their own furniture with them and it is possible to concentrate all services under one roof.

Health centers, which care primarily for those who live in apartments without bathrooms and who can take a bath in the health center, are frequently used; they also have foot-care facilities and sometimes a beautician. In recent years, some national committees are establishing so-called care homes (domo-vinky). Senior citizens or old people reside at home with their families; only during the day, when the others go to work, do they come to the care home where they can take their midday meal, socialize with other people or, where necessary, even lie down after lunch.

Other very significant social institutions include institutional care in retirement homes. The composition of residents in these homes has changed greatly over the past few years. Whereas before they were largely populated by people with low retirement incomes, and the retirement home actually helped them solve their social situations, today people go there more likely because they require all-day regular care.

[Question] One is often reminded with respect to retirement homes that people there have very little privacy. There are several people to a room and that kind of residency does not suit everyone....

[Answer] I agree. The very name "retirement home" indicates that it should be a home. Although it is a collective facility, it should be a home. The work needs to be organized along these lines and the home so run. Newly built retirement homes are truly very pretty and it is anticipated in the future that they will have more private rooms. We are reminding organizers, designers, and construction organizations to pose the question for themselves always whether they would like to live in such a home that they are building.

The personnel at these retirement homes deserve a high evaluation. This is very demanding work and requires empathy and feeling with regard to one's fellow being.

[Question] On whom does it depend that the necessary social services are available?

[Answer] On many factors. We are striving to see to it that services which make life for senior citizens easier are developed in all regions and localities on an even basis, that care for older citizens would become a natural part of our life. The focal point of this organizational work is primarily in the hands of national committee officials. They should not forget that they have such a group of citizens in their localities or in their city and they should think of citizens of retirement age just as much as they need to provide preschool and school facilities for children.

Much has truly been done in seeking out new and new forms of social services so that classical types of retirement homes have not become the norm; and, naturally, we do not resist any further innovations.

[Question] What do you consider to be the most important thing the national committees should devote priority attention to at present?

[Answer] We would like to see services for the elderly expanded to a greater extent than they exist thus far, we would like to see a building which provides care for the elderly in every town, in every central settlement. It would be ideal; a citizen would not need to change locations, he would live in a location to which he was accustomed and, at the same time, he would have social services at his disposal as needed. It would be ideal, in brief, if the process of aging were to be most natural. Not everyone can tolerate a "transplanting," even if it is from one end of the okres to the other, into another environment; and the older a person gets the more difficult a time does he have to become accustomed to the new environment. But we must not neglect the creation of classical retirement homes. The present number of beds continues to be inadequate, even though it has increased substantially in recent times.

5911

CSO: 2400/601

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ROLE OF PSYCHOLOGY IN SOCIAL LIFE

Prague TVORBA in Czech 4 Sep 85 p 3

[Interview with Damian Kovac, doctor of sciences, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Czechoslovak Psychological Society, by Rudolf Steindl, at the 6th Congress of Czechoslovak Psychologists in Prague, 20-23 August 1985: "On the Social Mission of Psychology"]

[Excerpts] From 20 to 23 August 1985 the 6th Congress of Czechoslovak Psychologists was held in Prague. On this occasion we asked corresponding member of the CSAV and the SAV, Damian Kovac, doctor of sciences, chairman of the Czechoslovak Psychological Society, for an interview.

[Question] The most significant characteristic of contemporary science is the fact that science is becoming an immediate force of production. In this connection a number of people frequently measure the utility of scientific disciplines only in accordance with the degree to which they can directly and immediately, and where possible, with instant and material effect, intervene in the material base. From this shortsighted viewpoint naturally some instantly less "practical" disciplines such as, for example, psychology, appear to be a certain luxury, an intellectual game which society can afford but without which people can also manage. Is this actually so?

[Answer] It is likely that we do not have too many people today who consider psychology to be a certain type of interesting but nevertheless speculative mode regarding the life of man. On the other hand, the number of people and institutions who utilize the findings of psychology to their full extent is still quite small according to our investigations. Psychology as a science about man, however, derives its findings directly from people and returns them to the people directly. It is, therefore, in a sense the most practical science because man is the principal production force, the subject of management processes, the creator and utilizer of all values of this world. And something else. Psychology is not only a science with its own subject matter which researches the lawful nature of psychic reflexes and psychic regulation, but it is also a science with an aspect--the human factor is an omnipresent aspect of the practical reform activity of the masses. In other words, psychology is in touch with all areas of science, including the natural and technical sciences.

[Question] Management also presents sufficient room for applying the findings of psychology. Leading workers at the most varied levels and in the most varied disciplines often rely only on their good judgment and their exemplary organizational talent. But a managed collective clearly, decisively benefits if this talent is supported by the findings of psychology.

[Answer] Although the psychology of management belongs to the relatively more modern psychological findings, it is possible to say that in Czechoslovakia we are holding our own with the world as far as enlightenment goes. But what's the use if in social practice we reap precious little from research? We know very well that in order to entrust somebody with a leading function it is necessary generally to fulfill the appropriate administrative-legal, qualification and political preconditions. Only now and then do we consider the physical and health status and only very rarely the effective psychic suitability. But in the case of a leading worker we are not concerned only with these matters but also with the acquisition of a certain type of psychological finding and a psychologically proven approach. This is so because, in connection with the type of organization involved, the activities which are connected with the human factor take up about 20 to 80 percent of the overall capacity of the leading workers. I believe that this is, in and of itself, an adequate argument to fully justify the objective need for psychological qualifications of leading workers at all levels which correspond to contemporary findings and our possibilities.

[Question] Obviously, the area of management is frequently not saturated with psychological findings. In contrast, the area for the application of psychology is the traditionally well-known field of school and extramural education. Are there some problems here?

[Answer] Psychological research has shown that the effectivity of teaching in the contemporary school is surprisingly low. Even given successfully excellent students, it is no higher than 60 percent. If we then take into account the frequently justified reminders having to do with overloading students and, to a not insignificant extent even teachers, this finding takes on another dimension.

Psychologists also point to a number of reserves in improving textbooks. A problem which is no less significant is that of guiding students toward creativity. In other words, it is necessary to continue developing psychological intervention in the educational process and to intensify it. In this respect, the psychological service to schools is important. However, it will not be completed until such times as specialized psychological care, through the actions of teachers, is provided for not only problem children in pedagogic-psychological counseling facilities, but to all normal individuals in school facilities. Just as school physicians follow the physical development of children and young people, it is desirable that their psychic development also be followed. This is so that it may be possible to psychically regulate those who are in need of this intervention to achieve optimal development, particularly during the critical phases of life.

[Question] The area of propaganda is closely connected with the area of education. Is it possible to make better use of psychological findings in this area also?

[Answer] The area of political-cultural and enlightenment propaganda constitutes a reserve of psychological impact on our social system, in my opinion. In some capitalist countries, various systems of propaganda are utilized whose main principles are formulated like this, for example: the source of information should stem from recognized authorities, information must be timely, people must be provided information in a differentiated manner, the content of information must be maximally objective, etc. Our propaganda must distance itself from the ideological-political background and from the manipulative intentions of bourgeois propaganda. However, I believe that our propaganda would benefit from closer cooperation with psychology.

[Question] A classic problem of utilizing psychology is in the health sciences. What are the prospects of further development in our health psychology?

[Answer] In Czechoslovakia, the second half of the 1950's is considered to be the fundamental 5-year plan governing medical psychology. Unfortunately, the tempo and directions of development pertaining to this kind of psychological specialization have been muted in recent years. If we were to match countries with a developed psychology the health sciences would have to employ about 1,500 more psychologists than is the case at present (about 700). The absence of major research centers of an appropriate orientation and the postgraduate education of medical psychologists, etc., is palpably felt. The problem also lies in the fact that neither physicians nor health workers have access to psychological findings to the extent which corresponds to their objective needs. Patients must generally be content with what they describe as decent conduct on the part of health workers.

[Question] What did the 6th Congress of Czechoslovak Psychologists present with respect to the development of psychology that is new in your opinion?

[Answer] The central theme of the congress was "Psychology and Scientific-Technical Development in Creating Developed Socialism." The congress was held under the slogan of "Psychology for Peace and Development of Mankind." The structure of the content of the congress was divided into three problem areas. The first dealt with the development of mankind as a subject of reform activity. The second dealt with the psychic and social development of the young generation and the third bloc dealt with the more efficient utilization of psychological findings and approaches in social practice. This congress became the fruitful forum for balancing existing results and creating perspectives for future activity.

5911

CSO: 2400/597

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

GREETING TO SALVADORAN TV--The Central Council of Trade Unions, in a telegram of greetings to the 21st Congress of the General Confederation of Salvadoran Workers, condemns the internal and world reactionary forces which, with the direct support of American imperialism, have led the country to the state of war and are trying to suppress the national liberation struggle of Salvadoran people. The telegram expresses a conviction that the congress deliberations will contribute significantly to the just solution of the situation in El Salvador in a peaceful way for the benefit of the people of El Salvador.
[Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 28 Sep 85 LD]

CSO: 2400/3

HUNGARY

MINISTER GIVES ADDRESS TO START SCHOOL YEAR

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Sep 85 p 3

[Address by Minister of Culture and Education Bela Kopeczi: "We Want a More Democratic and at the Same Time More Open School"]

[Text] It is a pleasure and honor for me to be able to open the new academic year in Kazincbarcika, one of our country's young cities and a place symbolic of constructive socialist work. It has achieved outstanding results not only in industry but also in culture during its hardly more than 3 decades of development. Kazincbarcika gains distinction by virtue of the fact that from the very outset it has set great store by educational work and has created for its cultural workers the atmosphere and the living/working conditions which make it possible for qualified teachers to work in the schools and which assure a constantly improving standard of education. Special classroom instruction started here and became nationwide in scope.

The city has provided a home for a series of national teachers' conferences which have dealt with current controversial problems and contributed to the preparation for reforms. Here we now inaugurate this beautiful school, which is a further token of our intellectual growth. Deserving recognition for all this are the teachers and the city's leaders and its entire population, who have understood the importance of education in shaping our people's destiny.

The beginning of this academic year is made even more solemn by the historical fact that precisely 40 years ago, on 16 August 1945, the Provisional National Government adopted a resolution that a new school called the general school must be created in place of the (public) elementary school, the higher elementary school, and the gymnasium. Today almost every child completes the eight grades at the prescribed time, and the general school is the foundation of everyone's education. In order to be able to perform this task in its entirety, it must operate more efficiently and more successfully than it has so far. We believe that this desire meets with the approval of our general public, which has often and rightly criticized the low efficiency of education and the emotional/moral poorness of training.

Another important event we must remember is the Education Law which the National Assembly passed this year. This law covers all education from kindergarten to the university, defines the rights and duties of those who participate in education--teachers, students, parents--and in the spirit of uniformity sets out the operational

and administrative rules of the educational system. The law builds upon the Development Program adopted in the spring of 1984, a program endorsed by the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

We have at our disposal a law and a program in the formation of which broad circles of society and above all the teachers personally have taken part. We have taken their comments into consideration, and we can rightly claim that the reforms settled upon meet the majority's approval even though, of course, there continue to be contrary viewpoints and problems awaiting solution.

Relying on the approval of the great majority, we have begun the work of implementation. One of our most important tasks in the near future is to pursue the modernization of educational content. We have now introduced the new curricula and textbooks everywhere, and we have at our command suitable pedagogical experiences in many subjects to make the necessary corrections. We want to avoid all confusion, increase the requisite stability, and introduce the inevitable change in an organized and well-prepared way. We permit a debate on the professional programs which serve modernization, and we ask the teachers above all for their opinions.

The modernization of content is served by those initiatives which aim at expanding education in computer technology or which intend to make instruction in foreign languages more effective. In line with this, we would like to call attention to the importance of native-tongue culture, to the requirements of orthography and good speech. The expression mirrors the thought: the conscious mastery and the sophisticated use of language is one of the important tools of education. This year in vocational education we are introducing technician training and thereby fulfilling one of the long-standing wishes of industry and agriculture.

In compliance with the Development Program, we are starting to increase the independence of educational bodies and to introduce measures which serve to expand the activity of student self-government agencies. We want a more democratic and at the same time more open school, one which can rely on the encouragement, criticism, material and moral support of parents and the broader community.

The Education Law and the Development Program alike proclaimed appreciation for and emphasis on the teacher's work. The first condition is the improvement in teacher training and the acquisition of systematic further training, the introduction of which begins this academic year. Teacher independence, initiative, and assumption of responsibility are all essential requirements if we want to make progress in education.

Nowadays a lot of people talk about a confusion of values, about the fact that morals are corrupt, human relations have become weaker, many persons live lives devoid of meaning. The school cannot change reality and resolve its contradictions, end its grotesque manifestations. Economic, social, and political tools are necessary for noble ideas, humanitarian morals, the true, the good, and the beautiful to be able to assert themselves. The significance of cultural consciousness factors should not be underrated, however, and the school--which educates 1.5 million youths in our country--is in charge of their assertion. We must show young people everything which is worth studying, working, and living for. Through its attitude, its orderliness, its exemplary conduct, the school can serve in the formation of traits

such as work appreciation, intellectual discipline, and respect for others without which it is impossible to live--or at least live humanely--in society. All this not without the family but together with the family and those communities with which the youth comes into contact. Every parent, every teacher believes that a human being can be educated; let us not be ashamed to proclaim this conviction of ours loudly and above all effectively. The socialist school of instruction, which is our goal, wants to exert a simultaneous effect on the intellect and the emotions through the good examples of the past and the present, through national and universal cultural values, and through that pedagogical will which has always been of great importance in the shaping of human beings.

12327

CSO: 2500/549

HUNGARY

ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS, IN CONTEXT OF UNION ELECTIONS

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by Erno Keseru: "Representation of Interests"]

[Text] The trade union elections begin today throughout the country. The collectives of factories, cooperatives and institutions will be voting for about 600,000 officials beginning with the stewards through the branch guidance organs to the elections of the national council. A great national event thus begins, which creates an opportunity to make a profound study everywhere of the working place atmosphere and conditions for solving the tasks. But in addition to weighing the 5 years of work there will also obviously be talk of how trade union work can be better adjusted to the peculiarities at a given enterprise or cooperative.

In our day those who enter--or reenter--a trade union usually ask: "What does the trade union provide?" Its role in adjudicating various social initiatives is well known--in distributing resort assignments, in enterprise kitchens, in assistance actions--and we could continue the list for a long time. But today it cannot provide more than formerly, and in a few places of work not even as much. This is explained not only by the more difficult economic conditions but also by the fact that certain social allotments have passed to the sphere of authority of the state organs responsible for them. And since the trade unions have been relieved of these tasks they can today better concentrate on the essence of their activity. Because their chief mission is simply that the trade union in every place of work should be the community representing the social forces and enjoying their trust, which is well able to harmonize interests, seeing to it that a link free of tension should develop between the employees and those guiding the economy.

Aiming at an improvement of trade union work the demand is often voiced that their independence should be further strengthened. The aspiration is correct, and in essence nothing hinders it, it is only that they should exploit the possibilities offered by the laws and regulations. But in many places they do not want or are too lazy to innovate and take the initiative. They do not dare get involved in certain actions unless they are encouraged to do so from above, or if others have already beaten the path someplace else. It is true that greater initiative can bring not only recognition to the stewards and other officials, it can also cause more headaches, and it requires facing conflicts. Even here democracy is not a one-way street: where the trade union works with greater independence it must also undertake greater responsibility.

Initiative can manifest itself in this as well, for example, in the present elections, whether they are satisfied with the methods used thus far--in regard to nominations and voting--or whether they will use the form which was a successful and mobilizing force in the most recent representative and council member elections. Judging by the signs they have decided in many places for the new form, for multiple nominations, because this can better bring to the surface people suitable for office, those who enjoy public respect. But there is a tendency in this direction also because opinions and value judgments deviate more as a result of material things, on the basis of income differentiation. Even today people everywhere cannot be characterized by a brave stand, showing their true colors, but on this occasion we should dispense with a dissection of the extent to which this, in a given place, is the result of human deficiencies or of bad leadership methods, or a tense atmosphere at work. Certainly in such places they will be happy to make use of the possibilities of secret voting.

And certainly there will be talk in the elections about how the trade unions must pay greater attention to stratum work. It promises to be a good practice to create committees and sections which will have the task of following the working and living conditions of the several strata. It would be justified, for example, within each branch to deal with those doing hard physical work, with various groups of professionals, with young people starting their careers and with those living in financial difficulties.

With the growth of economic democracy the protection of interests must be realized in a broader area. But the increase in scope does not mean only formulating demands or lists of things desired, not only more frequent clashes with the economic leadership, it also presumes closer cooperation in the interest of the common goal. Real protection of interests begins in production.

This year promises to be more difficult than preceding years--at the national economic level. The mid-year balances give a warning: Great efforts will be needed if we are to start the new 5-year plan, starting next year, from good foundations, if we are to be able to at least maintain the standard of living. So it must be seen, and people must be made to see, that production, prices and wages constitute a closed chain, at the enterprise and in the national economy. The rather frequent regrouping of manpower in many places serves the main goal. A large-scale change in the production structure affects thousands and demands that they learn a new trade or change their place of work. Where this has happened thus far, according to the signs, it has not caused special human problems or disappointment. Still, everyone here sees clearly that the security of existence at the social level is not in danger.

At the most recent congress of the MSZMP it was said in the closing words: "There are institutions and forums in Hungary which are always able to help, want to help and do help people in trouble." I believe that also in this respect the Hungarian trade unions are equal to their task.

8984

CSO: 2500/555

HUNGARY

ATTITUDES TOWARD FOREIGN TOURISTS SEEN PROBLEMATIC

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Jenő Szanto: "You Do Not Have to Kowtow"]

[Text] What would you say if you saw the following edifying scene in the very heart of downtown Budapest? A tall, blond man--a handbag hangs from his shoulder, a camera around his neck--examines a map and keeps showing it to the woman standing beside him. A dozen people rush past them, and no one pays them the slightest attention. The man first looks around entreatingly, then walks up to a young man and says something to him, presumably what he is looking for on the map, where he would like to go. The young man does not understand and informs him in articulated Hungarian--that is to say, he does not inform him in the least, since the foreigner does not comprehend our language and is even rebuked for this--to the accompaniment of a shrug: "If you come here, learn Hungarian!" And the young man hurries off. Help finally turns up. The Swedish couple--because they were Swedes--asked how to get to the Castle.

Well then, what do you say about this? I hear the answer: the young man in question is a boorish blockhead and a nincompoop, why make a big deal out of it? I will tell you why. Because I suspect that while we struggle to improve foreign tourist traffic and the attitude toward tourism, we have been repeating all too "successfully" for years that it is unnecessary to kowtow to foreigners. Which is sound advice.

No one, of course, has to kowtow to either a domestic or a foreign deity, no matter how much money appears on the horizon. Self-esteem and consciousness of one's own value cannot be converted into forints or any other currency. I suspect, however, that someone who in Budapest's Liberation Square lashes out at a bewildered foreign tourist to learn Hungarian before he comes here is not only an extremely stupid compatriot but also one lacking in self-respect.

Let us move forward while still sticking to the topic of foreign tourist traffic and whether to kowtow or not to kowtow. I could call it a bone of contention. Our newspaper and other press organs have dealt with the fact that several of our compatriots have expressed their disapproval upon seeing the nicely progressing hotel-construction program. "Do we need so many hotels?" runs the first question. "Do we need so many luxury hotels?" runs the second. "Because this," continues the grumbled remark, "is kowtowing to foreigners, since only guests from beyond Lajta will stay in these fairy-tale palaces." Then: "Why don't they build

apartments instead?" The sequence could, of course, be continued ad infinitum, from schoolroom to hospital, from expressway to summer resort; we need everything.

The demands might be listed, but to what end? A day nursery or a highway cannot be constructed in place of hotels. And if there is any (artificial) connection whatsoever between them, it is, to begin with, the following: it is not true that the hotels are built out of obsequious deference to them, the foreigners. A great many things could be built for us. No, it is not true, because those hotels are ours. Secondly, the hotels are not constructed in place of something else, and they do not take away but bring in money, increase the national wealth. Indirectly, they promote rather than impede the attainment of our other goals, to say nothing here of the benefits--inexpressible in material resources--from foreign tourist traffic, acquaintanceship with our country, and the creation of a good reputation.

And while the existence of an attitude and behavior toward foreign tourists has already been discussed, there is still something else to be said about it. We Hungarians hardly notice, as it were, what is lacking for the foreigner who travels here, but if we happen to show a guest around, he notices and reports it. For example, that on the posted timetables in the large railway stations at least the words ARRIVAL and DEPARTURE should not be written only in Hungarian. For example, that the inscriptions on pictures and objets d'art in our big museums, in the National Gallery, in the Museum of Fine Arts, in the Art Gallery, and in the outstanding life-work collections of the provincial cities should not be only in Hungarian. For example, that during the main tourist season at least it should be possible to obtain a map of Hungary and the city in several foreign languages anywhere in the city. For example, that it should likewise be possible to obtain foreign-language maps which indicate the routes of the city's mass transportation vehicles, so the traveler can get information about them in subway stations and in streetcars. And the leading agencies of commerce, if they think about it a little, will undoubtedly realize that they can still help foreign visitors with many things, including shopping.

Finally, let us again discuss people and passersby. It is not permitted to cringe or kowtow to anyone. But willingness to help is a human obligation, regardless of whether he who needs a few sentences of advice and orientation is a Hungarian or a foreigner. And not so that someone has a favorable opinion of Hungarians--please believe, though, that this is also an important factor and the cheapest advertising--but because we respect ourselves more if in the midst of our scurryings to and fro we take a moment to stop and help another. It is also important, of course, that if the person in question is a foreigner, we know at least a few words in some foreign language, though I maintain that just as Hungarians, when they need help abroad, comprehend directions and make themselves quite well understood by making signs and gesturing, everyone in this country, too, can serve mutual understanding in such a manner.

Because it is a question of mutual understanding, not kowtowing.

12327

CSO: 2500/542

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

OVARI ARTICLE IN 'PRAVDA'--The Hungarian News Agency reports from Moscow that the CPSU Central Committee newspaper PRAVDA will publish Miklos Ovari's article "To See the Future" in its Saturday issue. This year's most significant domestic events and the results of National Assembly and local elections and the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) are summarized in the article by the HSWP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. Mention is also made of our chief foreign-policy goals and the most important domestic problems with which the country is faced. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Sep 85 p 3]
12327

CSO: 2500/549

POLAND

SEJM DELEGATE ZABLOCKI ON HIGHER EDUCATION BILL

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 11 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Janusz Zablocki: "25 July 1985 Sejm speech by Deputy Janusz Zablocki"]

[Text] High Chamber!

Today we are considering a complex of legal regulations on science and higher education, namely, four government bills, respectively concerning a change in the law on higher education, a change in the law on academic degrees and titles, the bureau of the minister of science and higher education and research and development establishments.

I wish to explain why, assessing the work that the Sejm commissions have put into editing these bills, if the recommendation made a while ago by Deputy Osmanczyk is not accepted, we, as deputies of the Catholic-Social Deputies Circle, will not vote in favor of the first three of the four bills.

The 4 May 1982 updating of the current law on higher education has made essential changes to the present legal status, limiting the degree of autonomy of schools of higher learning and the role of elected collegial bodies and increasing the authority of single-person organs and above all the prerogatives of the minister of science and higher education. These changes are a return to a centralized model of school administration and a regression not only from the updated law but in certain cases (an example of which is the status of student organizations) also a regression from the earlier legal status it held during the 40 years since the end of World War II. the necessity for making these changes is justified by the minister by critical assessment of the functioning of the present law on higher education that was accepted by this chamber three years ago.

Some doubts have been expressed in this very area and I ask you to allow me to take issue with the minister, whose concern for our schools of higher education I do share, but whose arguments leave me unconvinced.

Above all, I doubt whether we are already in a position today to evaluate and update the law that we passed three years ago.

This law was passed on 4 May 1982 and therefore not at all in a period that could today be called anarchy but nonetheless during martial law. This new law considered all of the circumstances connected with the new social and political situation in the country after 13 December 1981. In passing this bill, we emphasized that, in spite of what many different sides may have claimed, it was a clear and irrefutable proof that martial law would not interrupt the process of reform but continue it. We were obligated by these statements. But barely three years have passed (and these are years in which the law was embodied only to a limited extent due to the restrictions of martial law) and already the same Sejm and the same deputies who voted for the law face the problem of changing it. It is quite clear that there occur situations in which even recently passed laws must be updated if the greater interests of society demand it. However, is that true of the law that we are discussing today? Must this law already be updated? We deputies hear increasingly often from our constituents that the present Sejm session, one of the most difficult in the last 40 years, will be remembered not only as an active Sejm but an excessively active one. People say that we are inflating legislation which neither hastens the production of law nor the updating of already current laws. One might therefore fear that the updating of the law on higher education that we are considering today confirms this criticism.

Considering the fact that the amount of time that this law has been in effect is too short to assess its effects, would it not be more correct to update it at a later date so as to have a broader base of experiences than we now possess? Would it not be better to put off any final assessment of the functioning of this law at least until the academic authorities chosen on the basis of this law have reached the end of their terms of office?

We are therefore not claiming that, in the light of our previous experiences, the functioning of several of the provisions of the 4 May 1982 law are not beyond criticism or that there is no need to rethink some of their provisions but we do feel that, at this stage, most of these functional problems can be resolved without changing the law itself but rather by better use of its provisions, fuller and more profound interpretation and eventual changes of executive acts and the charters of schools of higher learning.

In arguing for the update, the minister stated that the 4 May 1982 law has led to significant reduction in the efficiency and rate of graduation of studies, reduced the number of conferred degrees and academic titles, worsened the amount and level of research work and lowered the number of young and capable graduates entering schools. These phenomena are certainly true of various schools to different degrees and have aroused a good deal of alarm. Certain actions are required from both the academic community itself and the responsible organs of state administration. What we are questioning is whether all of these problems really are attributable to the provisions of the 4 May 1982 law and whether they can all be remedied by legislative means. Should we not perhaps look for the true source of these problems somewhere outside of the law, within the problems of the general situation in contemporary Poland? Would not an improvement in the material status of graduates of schools of higher learning as well as an improvement in Poland's social and political climate in general not solve the problem more than any

new law? It must be seen that gradual progress in solving these problems can be brought about in time by the solution or at least alleviation of many of the problems that presently alarm us in the academic community.

We are not alone in our doubts about whether the law should now be changed. A similar feeling is shared by a substantial majority of those consulted in the academic community. These doubts have been expressed by numerous resolutions of senates and councils in the departments of schools of higher learning, student polls and the opinions of the Main Council on Science and Higher Education. A similar view was expressed by the Polish Primate and Episcopate in letters to the government and Sejm. It is our profound conviction that we cannot override these public sentiments if we want to base the government's relationship to society on the principles of dialogue and understanding.

It would also be improper to exaggerate the influence that the political opposition has on the academic community. The real extent of this influence and the degree of danger that the provisions of the current law might be exploited are shown by a numerous data provided by the minister of science and higher education on last year's elections of rectors and prorectors in schools subordinate to that ministry. Out of 54 new rectors, the ministry had reservations about only three of them and none about any of the 128 new prorectors. The academic communities, even if they are critical, are for the most part genuinely concerned about science and the good of the nation. It would be in the long-term interests of the state to gradually work out a means of cooperation rather than make hasty decisions that the academic community might feel were forced upon it against its wishes.

As it would not be in accordance with the law, we do not intend to say that the opinions expressed in these consultations and letters have not had their effect on the final form of legislative intentions or that the bills of law recently presented to the Sejm have not rejected proposals previously suggested in the ideas of the Public-Political Committee of the Council of Ministers. We also do not intend to underestimate all of the positive modifications made to bills by Sejm commissions that have worked to meet the recommendations submitted. As I am not able within the framework of a speech before the Sejm to discuss the topic more broadly, I limit myself to noting one of these positive modifications that was considered by one of the desiderata of the Polish Episcopacy and is of great philosophical importance for Catholic opinion. This is the one that refers to article 132, paragraph 2 of the law updating the law on higher education and concerns the vows taken when one is first hired as a lower academic worker or teacher. Considering all of the changes introduced by the commissions, we must, however, honestly say that they concern for the most part secondary problems and are therefore only to a small degree consider the opinion of the communities and institutions that spoke out on them.

High Chamber!

Let us speak openly of our doubts and reservations in the conviction that this lies not only in our rights as deputies but our responsibilities as well for this is the duty that a deputy has to not only note the positive

accomplishments of the government but also to warn against its departures from the will of the public. As experience has shown us, it is only then that the Sejm will fulfill its proper role and enjoy the trust of the people. Today, an understanding between the government and society is more important now than at any other time and can grow only grow on the ground of dialogue with the same shared concern for the good of our state.

These are the premises by which the deputies of the present Catholic-Social Deputies Circle have tried to follow and continue to follow throughout their current term of office.

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POLAND

`CAN DO' ATTITUDE EXPRESSED BY BARCIKOWSKI

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 3-4 Aug 85 p 3

[Interview with Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of Politburo and PZPR Central Committee by Zygmunt Rola: "If we want to". Date and place not given.]

[Text] [Question] A state is strong when the masses know everything that it is doing, can express opinions about it and act consciously. Those are the words of Vladimir Lenin. Is socialist Poland a powerful state?

[Answer] Lenin obviously described the ideal state which is something that we must strive for. Is our state strong? Let us try to look at that using Lenin's formula. The amount of information now available to the public is considerably greater than at any time before. If in Poland someone wants to learn about something, he can satisfy his curiosity. The question is whether people always want to delve deeper into what interests them.

[Question] Can people have an opinion about everything?

[Text] With full conviction, I want to say that the institutional possibilities for this have been created. Therefore, there is essentially a free flow of opinions and information in Poland. To a large degree, discussions have lost their official character and people can speak openly about everything. I think I would not be mistaken to say that the situation is the same in our allied parties, union organizations, youth organizations and others. People are arguing everything, presenting their point of view, opinions and interests. However, forms of self-management are of fundamental importance to the enjoyment of these rights and the citizen's influence on public affairs.

Into self-management organizations are elected hundreds of thousands of people that know how the government functions and the extent to which various needs and demands can be fulfilled. In the case of worker self-management, the circle of people that now have access to information about their own place of work and the national economy has enormously increased. These people have the right and duty to formulate assessments and make decisions about the realization of general interests. All of these bodies are created by elections, the social basis of our state.

[Question] Lenin gave still one more condition of a strong state: everything that the masses do, must be done consciously.

[Answer] People will act consciously if they are well informed and have the ability to act within existing structures. That guarantees that their influence on state affairs will be deliberate rather than spontaneous or infected with the type of anarchy that uses the appearance of the struggle for lofty ideals to destroy authentic values...

[Question] The conditions for a strong state were also stated in a resolution by the 9th PZPR Congress: a modest state apparatus that serves the citizens and closely observes the rule of law...

[Answer] The measure of this may be the number of cases coming to the Supreme Administrative Court. When that court was created, people were convinced that it would be swamped with complaints from citizens discontented with administrative decisions but this never happened. We can therefore assume that the number of cases of clear violation of the law grievous enough that they have to be taken to court is not all that great. Of course, aside from the relationship of government officials to citizens, which is statistically easy to seize upon, there exists an entire sphere of petty matters that are hard to get at. Even though some improvement has been made here, we in Warsaw are still very alarmed whenever people are treated lightly or arrogantly. We are aware of the fact that the state apparatus is subject to many hard to detect dangers such as corruption and bribery. Even if the public opinion about bribery is exaggerated, then authorities are still determined to use all available means to liquidate it.

[Question] As we are speaking about the conditions for a strong state, Professor Wladyslaw Markiewicz recently shared some ideas that were not too optimistic: in Poland, the concept of the strength of a state is too often identified with its executive organs. What is a state? In other words, who is the state?

[Answer] According to the classical definition of a state, it is a territory occupied by a people with a tradition and culture...

[Question] In other words, we are a state...

[Answer] All of us participating in this broadest organization. Of course, an official is a representative of the state and citizens have the right to expect him to be competent and polite. On the other hand, the official has the right to expect citizens to understand his duties.

[Question] Is such an opinion widespread among people in the government starting with the head of a hamlet? In many informal discussions such as "birthday parties at Auntie's", this subject often comes up: divisions, the friction between various tendencies within the government...

[Answer] Let us start with the head of a hamlet. In fulfilling his functions, he does have the right to be a normal person with his own character and lifestyle. But...we want a flow of authentic discussion in Poland in which the presentation of different opinions will lead to agreement. We must recognize that the normal state is just such a situation in which the presentation of different opinions gives a lively exchange of thought. If we felt that everyone should say the same thing, it would be abnormal and in essence, dangerous.

[Question] We have already gotten ourselves through such lessons. There is also no unity of thought on important matters in other social circles. For example, some people are against legal prosecution of political opponents that break Polish law because they feel that this indicates a stiffening of the government's position and a departure from the policy of renewal. Others accuse the government of excessive liberalism in its dealing with people who do not hide the fact that they are opposed to the system.

[Answer] There are no lasting solutions. After all, situations change, public awareness changes and the awareness of individuals also changes. We are coming out of a period in which society was not only divided but torn apart. The government had to take a very calm position so that everyone would have a chance to come to their sense, calm down and take a good look at the tasks facing the nation. This position shows their efforts to reach an understanding with the people but such an understanding should require the people to agree to general, fundamental decisions and respect the right of others to have their own opinions.

For a socialist state to function normally, it cannot be seeded with antistate, antisocialist forces. No one should assume that conditions will be created for struggle against the Polish socialist state or for destructive actions against the legal order. As Poles, we cannot allow ourselves to waste so much of our energy in demonstrations and conflict. That was done not too long ago at the start of the 1980's and we still feel that loss of energy today. From that point of view, we must look at the actions taken by the government to preserve the rule of law and public order and to protect our state values so that they can be used for the good of the nation.

[Question] If we do not have to agree in all matters, then criticism of a government decision does not have to be a negative phenomenon...

[Answer] In Poland today, everyone is working for socialism and to create a political structure and material values. This is not hindered by the fact that one person may be religious and the other an atheist or that one goes to church for religious reasons while another goes out of habit. What is necessary is toleration and the recognition that people have the right to be different. Of course, one of the attributes of government is that it establishes laws and that those laws must be obeyed regardless of all differences between people. Decisions are worked out by discussion and consultation in which differences of opinion emerge. Since we can never satisfy everyone, people will always have their own opinion about a decision.

[Question] Does the government know how many Poles are dissatisfied with some of its decisions?

[Answer] Systematic studies of public opinion have been conducted. There are also traditional channels such as interparty information so knowledge of the public mood is not too hard to come by. The public mood is not and cannot be taken lightly.

[Question] What is the most harmful phenomenon for the socialist state and society?

[Answer] Passiveness. People expect quick fulfillment of their needs but they frequently do nothing to bring this about. This is not only true of material needs but also of social and political needs.

[Question] Indeed. As has often been the case in Poland, there are sometimes fears that the renewal will never be finished. I sometimes even hear that the retreat from renewal cannot be held back. Is there any guarantee that the renewal will be continued and that the government's program will be consistently realized?

[Answer] Are there such guarantees? If the people want them, they will have them. Meanwhile, so many people fear that the renewal is coming to an end but wait passively for this to happen. Public passiveness is able to squander every opportunity and subvert every reform. The Sejm has passed laws on people's councils and public self-government. We must see these as a chance at renewal. We must want to actively participate in these forms of government and prove false the suggestion of the enemies of the socialist state that these institutions are meaningless. I am an optimist. I studied to be an economist but my love is history and the historical process has given me an optimistic feeling about the future of Poland and the world.

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POLAND

RESTORATION OF 'SOCIALIST LABOR CONTESTS' SPARKS DEBATE

Contest Kick-Off at Bearings Factory

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jun 85 p 1,2

[Article by Tomasz Szymanski: "Return to labor contests: Lublin workers start"]

[Text] (Own information) On 1 June, during a party economic conference in Poznan, delegates from the Krasnik Precision Bearings Factory made an appeal in the name of the 14 largest factories of the Lublin region for a return to labor contests. The signatories to this appeal were unionists and representatives of worker's councils, party and youth organizations and the administration.

Will this movement catch on? "It certainly will," said Stanislaw Gawryluk, chairman of the Independent Autonomous Trade Union of Workers at the Lublin M. Buczek Leather Industries Plant, "if we go about it wisely. An early spring electoral meeting of the organization (and unionists make up over 60 percent of the work force at this plant) has already ordered me and the presidium to initiate a contest movement. Many workers are asking when it will start...".

Quality and Thrift

Jerzy Majewski, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee at Buczek said: "At a May plenum of the factory committee, we determined that we will not impose any rules. Let the workers themselves decide what form the contests will take. We will not judge whether the contest between one seamstress and another is supposed to be better than one between entire brigades or even shifts".

"We have only decided," said Danuta Domanska, chairman of the worker's council, "that we will announce contests in the areas of production that have the most influence on the firm's productivity. At the start, we will be concerned with quality of production and material economy. In our plant, shoes are made on a production line so it is hard to judge by a simple increment in production but we know that quantity can be increased by better quality. Every pair of shoes "transferred" due to shortages to the category I

not only increases the supply on the market but also, in the case of heavy shoes, saves the plant 3000 zlotys.

The rules for the labor contest at Buczek will be worked out by the end of August and no sooner because in the summer months the different production divisions will be having their summer vacations. According to preliminary plans, the results of the contest will be balanced quarterly. The best results will bring attractive prizes.

Beginning in the Second Half of the Year

The other signatory to the Lublin appeal was the Lublin District Meat Packing Plant.

"We have already received the first proposals," stated the vice-chairman of the outgoing worker's council, Andrzej Szewczyk. "We should introduce individual competition among managers. The winner would be the one that uses the least amount of fuel and rubber and operates his section for the longest period without repairs. In the other divisions, we are thinking about group competitions. We would compare the work of particular feedlots or slaughterhouses. The contest would be held within our plant for now and later we could consider a national contest. Representatives of the worker's self-management council will soon set the prizes for winners. The funds for this will be provided from the firm's profits. At a meeting with the directors, we will determine where and how the contest is to be held."

"Why are we introducing contests? Our workers are really good," said Director Marian Chitrosz. "We never had any difficulties in meeting our production plans but the food industry does place certain demands for quality and purity. For that reason, we want to use contests to "support" the present economic incentives for better work. Let us begin in the second half of the year".

The Lublin appeal for a return to labor contests was also signed by other plants such as the Lublin Truck Factory, the Swidnik Transportation Equipment Plant, the Krasnik Precision Bearings Factory, the Lublin Scale Factory and the Ursus Plant in Lublin. Just as in the Buczek Meat Packing Plant, the other signatories have taken up concrete actions to reintroduce worker competition after a break of several years. This is only the start. These contests are interesting, encourage good work and consider the specific nature of production in every plant and they will profit not only employees but the national economy as well.

Editor's Stand on Contests Argued

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Bielecki: "A Yelp From the Mirror"]

[Text] In the latest 30 June issue of ODRODZENIE, Kazimierz Kozniewski published his continuing editorial "Mirror on the present". The latest installment carried the title "No!". Remembering the author's previous column titled "Hewing the mist" and the interesting views it expressed, I began to

read with great interest and was curious to see what element of socialist democracy Kozniewski would now be struggling for.

It turned out that he would this time not only struggle but also yelp. He was so deeply agitated by the appeal made at the Poznan party economic conference for the resumption of socialist labor contests.

The editorialist writes: "...No, no, no! (until I yelped)...we cannot return to the old ways of doing things! This is all the more so as this way of formulating tasks for our industry and all of society most strongly goes against the principles of reform".

Therefore, Kozniewski has now emerged as a strong defender of reform. Later in his editorial, he writes that he was once enthusiastic about contests and although he criticizes many things, he does see some good things about this enterprise in these times. In turn, he argues that exceeding the plan in these times means nothing more than that the plan was bad and that the restoration of these contests will mean a violation of technological norms, affect quality and place a premium on numbers rather than quality. Finally, he concludes that today, "...the idea of labor contests introduces to our industry some element of bad voluntarism...".

To once and for all expose those that believe in the socialist labor contests, Kazimierz Kozniewski made a point of quoting General Jaruzelski who, as we remember, once said that there will be no return to the times before December 1981 and August 1980. Kozniewski understands this as meaning that there will be no return to what was done before 1956.

Let us forget this demagogic trick because to pursue it any further would be absurd. Kozniewski himself has more than once pointed out that the phrase "there is no return" refers to negative aspects of our social, political and economic life and is not a formula used to totally negate the entire experience and achievements of the past. I find it quite surprising that such a consummate pen has poured out such naivetes...

Let us return to the matter at hand. Above all, let us consider the question of whether K. Kozniewski actually read the text of the appeal. From what he writes, it would seem that he saw something on television, made his own conclusions and spoke out against it all.

Therefore, let us look at what was written by the authors of the appeal sent to places of work in Lublin and throughout Poland:

"...Now, under the present economic situation in Poland, it is necessary to awaken the ambition of the leadership in professional work and public activity. It is especially important that respect for good hard work be restored...Improved work and product quality, increased productivity, rational use of materials and energy, better use of work time, new creative initiatives and social actions and the establishment of an active attitude to labor will enable use to overcome difficulties and to embody the aspirations of every Pole."

The conclusion to the appeal states that this movement should "...faithfully contribute to full and quick implementation of the principles of economic reform in Poland".

So how can one say no to this? What is Kozniewski worried about? What is he protesting and what does he feel is harmful? After all, socialist labor contests do not always have to amount to who is turning out the greatest number of products. Does Kozniewski not see the need for using every means possible to improve the quality of work of every worker in every position? The market mechanisms of the economic reform are certainly contributing to an improvement in quality, intensification of activity and initiative. But do the ABC's of reform contradict in some way initiative or resourcefulness? Is an atmosphere of good work or comparison of the good and the better not to be allowed?

Therefore, let Kozniewski yelp at poor workmen and thieves, at rogues and loafers. Let him be indignant at those who would hold us back. Meanwhile, it would be good if he were to read exactly what was proposed for the 1985 socialist labor contest. Were he to take a closer look at this movement, instead of nervously crying "no!", he would say "yes" with satisfaction.

Editor's Position Again Opposed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Antoni Krzywolus: "The Accuracy of polemics"]

[Text] With complete satisfaction, I read in the 4 July 1985 issue of TRYBUNA LUDU Jerzy Bielecki's commentary on Kazimierz Kozniewski's 30 June 1985 editorial in ODRODZENIE. The former text opposed K. Kozniewski's protest against the restoration of socialist labor contests.

When I read Kozniewski's editorial in ODRODZENIE, something angered me at once and I considered writing until Bielecki's article came out first.

I sharply protest the condemnation of contests. TRYBUNA LUDU is right when it says that it would be absurd to conduct labor contests only for quantitative results. What about quality and economy? After all, quality and economy are tied in with quantity.

Quality is important here because the greater the number of good products, the longer they will be in use.

Material economy is important too because we can "cut out" more products from the same amount of material (one night on television, a worker from an automobile factory said that if we use the right procedures, we can, from a given amount of material, produce not two but three automobiles: that is competition not only in physical labor but in technological thinking).

I am not accusing K. Kozniewski of bad will. Perhaps he was just not able to grasp the sense of renewal of what was good in our old experiences. For that reason, the editorial in TRYBUNA LUDU makes sense. I would like to emphasize that I am not a retired worker defending the old ways. I am 34 years old.

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POLAND

TARNOW DEFENSE COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRY, ANTI-INFLATION MEASURES

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 3 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] The Tarnow Defense Committee on Industry and Anti-inflation Measures, chaired by Voivode Stanislaw Nowak, was in session yesterday at Tarnow. Economizing and anti-inflation programs and regional industry were evaluated, taking into account local reserves of raw materials.

In the production and services of the administration's subordinate units 176 million zl. in savings were achieved. This was realized chiefly by better management of fuels, energy, basic and raw materials, water, and greater professional activity. It has been stressed that thrifty management is of great importance in all fields. But particular stress should be laid on the still more effective use of fuels, energy and water, which is of such importance at present for our economy. It is difficult to achieve by the methods of administrative pressure alone, for a great deal depends on ourselves.

The anti-inflation program is being implemented much less efficiently than the economizing one. In the majority of enterprises the increase in labor productivity continues to lag relative to the wage increase. Very significant is the fact that in 1984 the Tarnow enterprises have paid 750 million zlotys for PFAZ tax.

At the same time the materials costs and reserves are increasing. The WKO [Voivodship Defense Committee] has recommended taking steps for developing rationalization movement and economizing fuels in the smaller economic units, a better use of electric energy (especially in communal economy), professional activation of retired workers, pensioners, and women on educational leave.

As regards small-scale regional industry the attention was called to small extent of satisfaction of the needs of population with respect to services. In some sectors the regression prevails, for example, in the tailoring, shoe-making, hairdressing. It was recommended to work out a comprehensive program of the recruitment of students to schools that train for the above professions. Also considered will be the possibility of improving the supply of basic and raw materials to business.

In discussing the activity of foreign Polish firms in the Tarnow region it was noted that too small a percentage of their production finds its way to the voivodship market. In granting permission for starting new economic units of this type there the needs of local trade should be met to a greater extent.

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POLAND

'URSUS' UNIONISTS HOLD TALKS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Jul 85 pp 1-2

[Text] "Our activities prove that we are needed and that the unionism has an important task to fulfill--that of representing the interests of every worker and of all working men." With this keynote in mind a discussion took place on 9 July 1985 at the Machinery Plant "URSUS" in Warsaw by the unionists of that enterprise.

Among the subjects discussed were not the problems of that enterprise and its workforce alone, they also concerned--since OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz took part in the discussion--much wider matters, such as the place of occupational movement in social, political and economic life of the country, its tasks in the immediate future, and conditions of work and life of thousands of workers of the machine-building industry--metalworkers.

The meeting in the plant Community Center was preceded by talks of the OPZZ chairman in the forging shop and with nonunionized workers. This permitted the OPZZ chairman, as a metallurgist, to better understand the specific character of difficult work in this, one of the hardest departments of the "URSUS." This was also a chance to acquaint the representative of nationwide union representation with the problems and cares encountered in daily life and not only by the workers of a tractor plant.

Much attention was devoted to the difficult problems of the housing industry. It has been pointed out that, for example, a dwelling unit, one of the basic goods, is still unobtainable for many persons, especially young ones. The needs in this regard do not decrease, and will not decrease, in view of the population growth and still a low building potential, ineffective technology and decapitalization of the old housing resources.

The social and wage matters were the subject of many, not infrequently critical arguments. Debaters, among them Kazimierz Szewczyk, from licensed production, pointed out, for example, that this year's summer vacation is connected for many families with considerable expense, which with present day prices of consumer goods causes considerable detriment to family budgets. In this context motions that the trade unions secure a "metalworker card" were even forwarded.

However, contrary opinions were also expressed. "Let us look realistically at the possibilities of our economy," said Edward Klacz from the engine workshop. "The national economy is what it is, and the government must earmark a part of it for the development of the economy and for running the state," he said. It was also asserted that in a situation of such intense needs parasitism and absenteeism are especially conspicuous. In the opinion of unionists the existing regulations in this respect should be more strictly enforced.

The adjustment of other regulations to life, especially on free Saturdays, was postulated by Wlodzimierz Rozanski, who, voicing the opinion of many consumers, pointed to a need for normal shop hours on those days. This also concerns many offices in which handling one's matters requires quitting work. There were many such demands, and it was pointed out that this was not the first forum before which these problems were raised. They were also raised in the recent electoral campaign to the Sejm. The representation of trade-unions in our parliament was also one of the subjects of discussion at the meeting.

Citizen's reflections also accompanied the problems connected with the young generation, brought up by several speakers.

In addressing the URSUS unionists, A. Miodowicz has dealt with a majority of the raised subjects. He also characterized the current work of the OPZZ. As regards the wage situation he stated that the basic matter for the trade-union movement is guaranteeing wages by concluding the collective labor contracts. The living conditions and social minimum are of constant interest to the Union Research Center which soon will begin its work.

Speaking of the international contacts of the OPZZ, A. Miodowicz characterized their development and--answering one of the questions--the causes of the Poland's withdrawal from the International Labor Organization. He summed them up briefly: the cause was Polish reasons of state. Resuming the subject of social benefits, he emphasized that the OPZZ agrees with the government that under present conditions they are considerable, but he also considers that they should be differently distributed. The trade-union movement also takes a position that the specific type of these benefits, for example, sickness benefits, should not be decreased.

A. Miodowicz stated that unionists' demands made on different occasions, are submitted with a corresponding substantiation to the government. A dialog with the government is continuing. Also, at the next meetings with its representatives, these matters will be brought up again by the OPZZ in accordance with the basic aim of the trade-union movement--protection of interests of the working men.

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POLAND

PZPR YOUTH COMMISSION MEETS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 85 pp 1, 5

[Article by Bohdana Gajdeczkowa: "Culture and Upbringing"]

[Text] The problems of cultural activation of the youth from various milieus were discussed at an out-of-town session on 8 and 9 Jul 85 in Nowy Sacz by the PZPR KC Youth Commission. The debates were chaired by the PZPR KC Secretary, Waldemar Swirgon. The meeting was attended by Jozef Brozek, First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee PZPR in Nowy Sacz, Andrzej Ornat, Minister for the Youth Matters, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Chairman of the Youth Unions, ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth]; Leszek Lesniak, ZMW [Union of Polish Rural Youth]; Ryszard Wosinski, ZHP [Polish Schout Union]; Antoni Dragon, ZSP [Polish Student Union]; and the local cultural workers, as well as Edward Golebiowski, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Culture and art.

One of the necessary conditions for general use of the riches of national culture is to ensure a proper cultural education of the children and youth. There is still a great deal to do in the sphere of consciousness of the people, in the creation of a material base, and in the education of animators of the amateurish art movement. Waldemar Swirgon, spoke of this, among other things, in his opening address. He emphasized that the state patronage alone will not suffice to solve these problems, notwithstanding that a great deal is being done in this direction. The cultural movement is supported by the Ministry of Culture and Art. The Minister for Youth Matters does this also, among others, by awarding the St. Wyspianski Youth Artistic Prize. The state patronage must be more and more firmly supported by social patronage. In this respect youth unions have a great task.

In integrating the forms of cultural activity with the ideological program of the union we see a chance of effectively influencing the entire youth, stated Jerzy Szmajdzinski. He called the attention to the fact that notwithstanding the state patronage of everyday culture the practice supplies examples of the lack of understanding by the authorities in voivodships, and especially in gminas, of the cultural needs of youth. Meanwhile the young generation has relatively large resource of free time and is therefore potentially the principal participant and recipient of what is being prepared by various culture units. Unfortunately, their program is only rarely addressed to the

young people. The study of the science of culture, patronage of amateurish artistic movement in worker and school youth milieus, the training of animators of culture--these are some directions of the ZSMP activity.

From a simple pastime to an ambitious program of cultural education: guided by this principle, the ZMW takes up many initiatives aimed at the development of a sociocultural movement in the countryside. The folk scene comprises a wide circle--not only members of the SMW--of ardent lovers of the artistic creative work. Clubs for the creators of rural culture, three-day cultural shows in schools during which students can benefit from instructions provided by professionals, as well as Polish folk theater, which contributes values of the culture to the national culture--these are some directions of the ZMW activities in this field.

As stated by Leszek Lesniak, the material base is a barrier to a wider cultural activation of the countryside.

Ryszard Wosinski called attention to dealing with cultural activation of the child-youth milieu in terms of political categories. Not only the arousal of interest in various fields of culture and creative work, but especially socialization of youth and neutralization of the pressure of models of the mass culture that promote consumer attitudes. The ZHP endeavors to introduce competitive offers, addressing them primarily to highly talented youth. The ZHP has over 2,000 artistic teams, including the "Gaweda" ['story'], already of world-wide fame.

Antoni Dragan has explained the way the ZSP envisages cultural work in the student milieu. The student milieu still feels negative effects of the ideological break-up of the student movement in the beginning of 1980's. It is also a political battle-field. A preservation and strengthening of the values of socialist culture and promotion of ideologically bearable initiatives is one of the important tasks of the ZSP at present.

Janusz Tomalski, secretary of the Voivodship Committee, spoke of the achievements of amateurish cultural movement in the Nowy Sach Voivodship.

In the afternoon, members of the Youth Committee visited camps of the young creative workers and of the aktiv of youth organizations in Myslec and Tabka and the camp in Limanowa of DGR pioneers.

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POLAND

CONTINUED ATTACK ON TUROWICZ CHURCH-STATE POSITION

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 11, 14 Aug 85 pp 4, 10

[Article by Zygmunt Kaluzynski: "The God of Jerzy Turowicz"]

[Text] In Tygodnik Powszechny, issue 30, Jerzy Turowicz replied to my article entitled "Deceiving Many" (the weekly Kultra, no 6, 1985). His reply was so astonishing that I have taken the liberty of conducting a thorough analysis thereof.

Turowicz began by listing the following characteristics of myself: 1st--arrogance; 2nd--pushiness; 3rd--practicing the above permanently which, "have accustomed my readers" to them; 4th--ignorance, 5th--nonability to understand, 6th--no knowledge of the matter; 7th--being a person who doesn't know anything; 8th--making "absurd statements"; 9th--a register of ignorance. The whole article was entitled "Kaluzynski the Theologian" which was intended to offend me. I get the impression that in trying to humiliate me, Turowicz himself plunged into the sin about which Jesus said so much in his Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5, 22).

Next Turowicz said that becoming involved in polemics with me was useless. "No polemic with Kaluzynski's contentions is necessary or possible." True, Jesus used to answer everybody who asked him, spoke to rascals worse than me and on the cross even talked to ruffians but, of course, Turowicz is not Jesus. In spite of his objections, Turowicz finally decided to raise several subjects. And it is at this point that our astonishment has no end. All these subject, literally all of them, were falsified. Truly. Here is the evidence. Gospel Falsified: In his article, from which everything started, Turowicz said that the Church has a duty to practice politics. However, this statement contradicted the Gospel which says that man has no right to use God's authority for plotting in particular. More than half of the Gospel concerns this ban. A protestant theologian, Karl Barth, calls it the biggest obsession of Christ. That shouldn't surprise anybody. The main objective of Jesus was to bring man closer to God; using God to settle something is changing him into an idol, a false God, into a slogan serving the struggle of interests. Therefore Jesus, who was endlessly tolerant, who forgave a fallen woman, a criminal and a killer was so persistent about the Pharisees who practiced politics, hiding

themselves behind religion, the Pharisees who did not serve God but had God serve them. Asked about the heaviest sin Jesus answered: the sin against the Holy Ghost. That was the sin of the Pharisees.

And what did Turowicz say: he mocked me saying that I was practicing the so-called "theology fiction," since a sin against the Holy Ghost was the despair of a nonbeliever or the lightheartedness of a sinner who did not cease to sin. So he named two sins although Jesus referred to only one. Moreover, these two sins exclude one another since the first consists of despair and the second of nonchalance. How do you reconcile these two, where did they come from and what do these sins have in common with the Holy Ghost when they are definitely directed against God himself.

Let us see how the original text looks according to St. Luke. Chapter 11 concerns the Pharisees abusing God for political purposes. It is in this chapter that Jesus repeats six times: "Woe unto you lawyers," and a few paragraphs later: "And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but onto him that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven." (The Holy Ghost means the Truth of God /John 14/ Matthew 12.32/).

The word "speak" indicates clearly that the subject is agitation, fabricated preachings and propaganda used to sell God. In which way can it concern that which Turowicz calls "the despair of a nonbeliever" or "the nonchalance of a sinner," both of which are silent rather than talkative. How come, Turowicz, who considers himself a Christian, falsified the Gospel in such an ostentatious way.

(Excuse my funny pedantic ways but I shall take the liberty of presenting here a list of available books on sin against the Holy Ghost, books which interpret this subject in a way similar to me: E. Osty et J. Trinquet *Le Nouveau Testament* pp. 71 and 182, *La Bible de Jerusalem*, published by Desclee de Brouwer, p 1951, *Le Protestantisme*, published by Larousse with a commentary by Karl Barth)

Encyclical Falsified: The moment one accepts the view that the Church has a duty to practice politics, one has to answer another question. Which policy is supported by the Church and in what way does the Church receive information on this subject? God's intentions are unknown and we can learn them only on the basis of what has already happened. This may indicate that God did have to approve of certain actions carried out in his name, that for instance he did not support the Inquisition or the Crusades and in turn did lend his support to communists while the Church preferred fascism. In my article I quoted the famous (but not in Poland) declaration by Pope Pius XII announced in connection with Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union ("noble heroism in defence of the principles of Christian culture and a crusade which will enable Europe to breathe freely and promise a new future to nations"), but it is senseless repeating this since this subject abounds in a long list of proven facts described even in works of literature.

But Turowicz does not mention these events. Not with a word. There is total silence. Meanwhile, this is what he asserts, "Dozens of examples could be

cited to illustrate the Church's opposition to fascism." Perhaps, but not from the Vatican. So let us hear Turowicz out. Unfortunately, only one example is quoted, "Pope Pius XI's encyclical letter against Nazism called 'Mit brennender Sorge' [With burning concern] (an encyclical published--as an extraordinary exception--in German so it could reach its addressees more easily) which was published in--yes!--1937."

So we rush to read through this encyclical "against Nazism" and find out that it contains not a sentence, not a word or letter against Nazism; Nazi ideology is not even mentioned there. It is simply a diplomatic document of intervention, expressing concern at some administrative moves in Germany; it talks about a dangerous trend of evasion while abiding by the provisions of the 1933 concordat with the Vatican, which may lead to "suspicion, misunderstanding, ill will, unjust charges" and "hostility towards the Church"; the document also mentions "the gathering clouds of destructive clashes for religious reasons," etc. German language is used, not for the reasons quoted by Turowicz, but to prevent the document from turning into a universal demonstration, because it pertains to an agreement between two parties only, as the encyclical itself clearly defines; it was intended as an argument in negotiations.

How come Turowicz, who belongs to the Church, falsifies a Church document?

Religion falsified. Turowicz is a surprising Christian who thinks that his God makes obscure statements which are hard to understand. With regard to Jesus's injunction "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's" Turowicz asserts, that this rule is impossible to follow because "in practice it is impossible to separate the things which are God's from the things which are Caesar's."

This blurred distinction is what Turowicz needs, because it enables him to assert that one speaks out in the name of things which are God's and not Caesar's upon each and every occasion. We were able to see this in connection with Father Popieluszko. Were his activities an instance of agitation? It turns out that they were not according to Church statements; these talked about Popieluszko "solemnly pursuing his mission as a priest," "being sent by God," "fulfilling the mission of the Holy Spirit," etc.

Personally, I though "Caesar's" can be defined as intended to defend someone's interests. Understandably, Turowicz did not like the idea, because the Church advocates another definition; "according to Aristotle," politics are "for the common good of the people." But "the good of the people" in fact means somebody's interest, only the phrasing is more noble. So Turowicz comes up with a new idea and challenges, "Surely there is one particular kind of interest which the Church is always keen to take care of--the interest of man." And he goes on to preach about...loving thy neighbor.

Unfortunately, the interest of man could mean practically anything, starting with collecting berries, through the establishment of museums, to travel into outer space, so the distinctions are blurred once again and it is impossible to differentiate between things which are Caesar's, God's human or even

animals', since cattle farming is also in the interest of man. And so we are stuck, which was the object right from the outset. This situation which was the object right from the outset. This situation is not new, however, as it was described by St. Matthew 2000 years ago in connection with Christ forbidding the Pharisees to prevaricate, trim or dodge in the name of God (Mt 5:34-36) and demanding clarity, "But let your communication be, Yea, yea; nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil" (Mt 5:37).

Well, if we follow this injunction it will inevitably turn out that the Gospel forbids use of religion for politics so ruthlessly and clearly that this rule can only be avoided by falsification, and that is why Turowicz has been falsifying, is falsifying and will have to continue falsifying.

So I call upon Turowicz to back out of his program, treacherous to Christianity, because he will have to account for it in the future, and, in spite of the fact that he quotes Jesus--or rather because of this--he may be rejected: "I never knew you: depart from me" (Mt 7,23). I doubt that he will heed my warning through, because he will be afraid of losing his position among Polish Pharisees--and a high position it is too, although competition in this field is extremely tough.

[jk, jwb]

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POLAND

'CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM' BY CHURCH DEFENDED

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 33, 18 Aug 85 pp 1,4

[Article by Andrzej Micewski: "More on the Church and Politics"]

[Text] The article by Jerzy Turowicz entitled "The Church and Politics" in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 12/1985 was received in the so-called official press with unusual agitation, bitterness and recently extreme ignorance. And those speaking were older people who remember or at least should have read (if they intend to speak on the subject) our Polish polemics of the last 40 years. Could some journalist have contracted amnesia and lost the memory of the conflicts not only between KUZNICA and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, but also forget the matter of the fundamental antagonism between DZIS I JUTRO, which wanted to "have joint control," with the Catholics of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, who were concerned above all about "not lying." I personally believe that in all this there was less ignorance and more maneuvering and attempts to place the opponent in positions that were doomed in advance. Therefore I have decided to talk about this subject once more to impress on the interested parties that after all we have lived through in the last 40 years, no one will be able to drive anyone into a corner. It was to seem more or less like this: You are Catholics; well then, pray but you and the church stay away from politics because that is a secular matter, not a religious one.

Among Catholics there is by no means one opinion on the subject of relations between religion and politics. As for one of these, there is not and cannot be any disparity: Religion is not only a private matter; from the Gospel, from the major Christian commandment of love comes the duty of active work on behalf of humanity and society. Incidentally, until recently the church and Catholics in Poland were commended for such work, if one recalls the main speech at the Ninth Congress of the PZPR. Currently other semi-official voices in this matter particularly surprise me, because social conditions are constantly changing and one can see that a different appraisal of the general social function of Polish Catholicism has been arrived at in recent years. In any case, in the last 40 years, the appraisals have varied several times. The church received them calmly and with the distance appropriate to an institution that has existed for 20 centuries. So too now we do not become very upset about agitation, although we do strive to clear up misunderstandings if at all possible, if there exists a modicum of goodwill. But because our polemicists have not shown much of it, I will permit myself to ask them whether they still the public voice of the church in 1956, 1970 and 1980-81 as socially constructive, or whether they have changed their minds; do they shrug their shoulders at the church's voice in public affairs and urge us

Catholics to quiet prayer, seeing this as the height of their tolerance and the best way to so-called national understanding?

No minimally self-respecting person would accept this proposal: You can talk about public affairs if you commend, but if you want to criticize remember that religion is a private matter; sit quietly and pray. Since the government encourages everyone to criticize, why do certain "odd" journalist in major organs of the media react so allergically to the very statement of the right to criticize? Jerzy Turowicz said in his article that the church, besides its basic evangelical and sacramental function, also fulfills a prophetic and critical function. This statement provoked this inexplicable agitation in the press. But after all, this is neither something new nor a revolution in the conception of Catholicism. If one is familiar with 12 encyclicals and other social documents of the church, from the renowned encyclical of Leo XII, "Rerum Novarum," in 1891, and including the council's spiritual constitution, "Gaudium et spes," which is binding on the entire universal church, Turowicz's statement cannot surprise anyone. One can discuss the nature and scope of the church powers in social matters, but denying them altogether or outrage because of them is simply a rather embarrassing intellectual misunderstanding or a manifestation of political ill will. Especially since it follows years in which the church's mediatory role was spoken of with respect, its resistance to the possibility of the shedding of Polish blood was praised and its role as one of the factors of social peace in Poland was emphasized. Apparently the general view has changed or certain journalists had already judged the church's role in recent years differently from official representatives. This has no major significance for the position of Catholics because it is delineated not by circumstances of sympathy or antipathy to the church, but by principles flowing from the Gospel. It is also completely plain that the church and the Catholic media in the overall changing situation, depending on the needs of mankind and society, emphasize different elements of of Christian social teachings.

Standing on the same basis as Jerzy Turowicz, of belief in not only the sacramental and evangelical, but also the prophetic and critical functions of the church, I would like to devote a moment of attention to the difference in responsibilities in this realm of the institutional church, the hierarchy, and the church as a community of believers, and thus is a given instance, the laity. The hierarchy, the institutional church, first of all does participate in politics conceived as a play for power. This is in accordance with the legacy of the Gospel, that Christ's kingdom is not of this world. Yet the hierarchy cannot forego evaluation of the social and moral situation that determines the development of human personality, which has a supernatural goal. Thus the prophetic and critical function of the church, resulting from its concern for the worldly conditions of man's striving for his ultimate goal. But the church, in fulfilling this function, takes care that its statements are closely related to its evangelical mission and are not exploited by worldly, secular interests or political pressure groups. If the Polish church in the postwar period has achieved such great prestige in the country and abroad, it has resulted precisely from observing the evangelical dimension of social and moral intervention, from not yielding to political pressure and avoiding politics sensu stricto, politics in the strict sense of the word. At the same time, everyone who know Poland's postwar history at all

knows very well that the church speaks publicly, whether in confidential correspondence with the government on all important national issues, on the issue of Polish spiritual and moral identity or on the issue of the social and moral situations of various levels of society. In my books on the history of postwar Catholicism I cited numerous examples of this kind of intervention. There are also source materials that could serve to prove that this situation has not undergone a change in recent years and the church is fulfilling its critical and prophetic function consistent with the god of mankind, the nation and the state. In any case, people who go to church and hear pastoral letters and announcements from the Polish Episcopate know this well. It is the union of the church with national life and with the spiritual needs of man and various levels of society that makes Polish Catholicism what it is, that gives it its broadly radiating power of moral influence. This influence, compared to manifestations of de-Christianization in a significant part of western Europe is arousing widespread interest today. There can be no doubt that poor Poland, which is weathering a serious crisis of civilization, is at the same time popular due to the spiritual and cultural influence of Catholicism. As often as we turn up abroad, we are immediately besieged by people who are fascinated with the moral and ideological dynamics of our country. It is perhaps most difficult to answer the numerous questions--why are we doing so badly in technical and economic areas--but that is another matter altogether.

In his article on the church and politics Jerzy Turowicz concentrated above all on the most important function of the institutional church. It is appropriate to add to this some remarks about the responsibilities of the community of believers, the people of God, thus the broadly conceived laity. The hierarchy leaves the laity a free voice in matters of social arrangements. The church also gives it the fundamentals of instruction in this realm--social encyclicals and other official documents of Christian social teachings. The hierarchy concentrates on fundamental, strictly moral matters and therefore the main responsibility for social presence in worldly realities falls to the laity. This presence is based not only on fulfillment of the church's critical and prophetic function on a most universal scale, but also on assuming an attitude toward specific social practices, legislative initiatives and political mechanisms in the spirit of Christian social thought in defense of human rights.

Under the circumstances of world division, Christian social thought has become objectively, as a result of the real situation, less and less an expression of a socio-political road, a third ideology and pattern of realization, but constitutes above all a trend toward maximum fortification of man's position in various systems and in all changing earthly realities. Besides its main humanitarian dimension, Christian social thought is also interested in national affairs, supports the institution of the state that respects man subjectively and reaches into the sphere of international relations and the problem of world peace, the classic but not the only example of which was the encyclical of John XXIII, "Pacem in terris."

As is evident from this, the basis of the conduct of Catholics is social presence, not absence; creative attitudes, not destructive ones; a desire to improve, not destroy. But creative social presence requires the free right to constructive criticism. Thus the press reaction to Jerzy Turowicz's article

seems to me outright detrimental. Social presence also requires observance of certain elementary rules, not denying the subjectivity of people and social groups. And so the problem does not boil down to our being invited somewhere as people more or less well known and being a decorative element there, deprived of our own concept of action. Organic participation in social and political life is expressed in this--that first people gather together on the basis of certain ideological ties and then, legitimized by their environment, as their representatives, they can take part in broader social or even political activity.

In the period when Catholicism was fashionable in Poland, Professor Jan Szczepanski and in his characteristic way, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, at least in *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*, predicted a significant revival of political action by believers in the 1980s. This aroused great skepticism in me and I feel had a tactical purpose. The critical mission of the church and the activity of authentic Catholic circles in postwar Poland showed that the influence of social Catholicism need not go hand in hand with the creation of religious political structures in the strict sense of the word. It cannot be concealed that Christian Democratic parties that emerged under the influence of social encyclicals in time became one of several important factors in the parliamentary system. But for various reasons they did not generate a third structural road. Catholics in Poland as well as in other countries, before and after the war, selected various political orientations. For not only the value system of Christian social thought, but also a pragmatic appraisal of reality affect the political inclinations of believers. In any case, under our present circumstances, Catholics see their ideological mission not in the creation of political structures, but in real influence on conditions for the development of the human being and the national society. Thus the fear of Turowicz's polemicists of the prophetic and critical function of the church and laity is all the more surprising.

The issue of religious policy and Catholicism in Poland is very delicate because of the range of the church's spiritual influence, operating in a system created on principles of materialist doctrine. From what Zdzislaw Morawski writes in *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*, it could be concluded that mutual relations between the church and state in the last 40 years have been almost idyllic, except for minor disagreements. We all know that this is not the case. Cardinal Wyszynski associated the period of significant improvement not with 1956 or 1970 but with 1973-74. One wonders whether Morawski knows why the late primate, who had a good grasp of the situation, mentioned those dated in particular. Simply, it is necessary to know the course of the facts, if only statistics on building permits and other freedoms. The personal sufferings of a representative of this or that philosophy are not a matter of comparison. The point is the scope of freedom in general and religious freedom in particular.

Refusing the church or Catholics the right to criticism, to which all other citizens are encouraged, is absurd. Unfortunately, these are not only the notions of two journalists because their polemics are accompanied by other discouraging opinions and facts. Meanwhile, Marxists have always maintained that religion is a persistent phenomenon and this constitutes an important premise in relation to it. For the international position of a country like

Poland, religious affairs have an enormous significance. The universality of Catholicism, its significance in Poland, underlined by a great event--that for the first time in 455 years a Pole, not an Italian, is pope--can give the country enormous advantages and ensure its popularity in the world. Intelligent policy could accumulate rather good capital from this. Meanwhile we are back to polemics, which it would seem we had conquered several years ago. If we learn so little from the past, it can only mean that current diagnoses are not accurate. For they lead to constant repetition of the same mistakes, to disintegration of society and mutual animosity, while after all there were times and signs that we were capable of something else.

Returning again to comments in the press, I would like to emphasize the complete psychological and political misconception represented by the enchantment over formal agreements, mainly of 1950, but also of 1956. Historically, it is not formal acts and documents, which are usually accompanied by specific conditions, that have true significance, but real freedoms and above all mutual reconciliation by the partners and a general atmosphere conducive to it.

to recapitulate these considerations, it seems to me that most important is a proper diagnosis of the phenomenon that is Polish Catholicism. It does not renounce its critical function because it follows from social and moral principles of religion. But it is universally known that a system whose main precepts pertain to love, including social love, cannot be and is not an agent of social destruction. The church in Poland during the past 40 years has not relinquished any of the rights to which it is entitled and has been an advocate of freedom for religion, man and the nation. Throughout this period it has also been an advocate of social peace, dialogue and reconciliation on the basis of the inalienable natural rights to which man and social institutions are entitled.

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POLAND

CATHOLIC JOURNALIST'S CALL FOR AGGRESSIVE REPORTING CRITICIZED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 32, 10 Aug 85 p 15

[Article by Anna Tatrkievicz: "By Hook or by Crook"]

[Text] I have been quoting regularly from TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and for the time being with the same sensation: The majority of articles published therein arouse my opposition either by their conservative contents or their aggressive form or both. Yet the conservatism and aggressiveness of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY's journalists are either camouflaged or are expressed directedly. The most straightforward of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY's journalists is undoubtedly Piotr Wierzbicki. This avowed advocate of economic liberalism not only does not conceal his aggressiveness, but recently released an outright mini-manifesto, summoning all journalists on both sides of the "barricade" to aggressiveness.

How else could one understand such words: "Politicians, if they indeed have the intention of coming to terms, do not need the support of patched-together words, smoke screens and aesthetic costumes. On the contrary, open expression of positions, clear statement of differences and precise explanation of interests are vital to them. It is the media that can ensure this for them. The more acutely, less tactically the media express the conflicts rankling society [...], the more competently, tractably and justly the politicians will be able to resolve them in the future." (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 28).

In a word, Wierzbicki, who writes aggressively himself, feels that everyone should do the same.

But in my opinion, no.

There are no polemics, there is no conflict without aggressiveness. But conflict is not equal to battle. One can fight with one's fists or one can carry on disputes according to all the rules of the art of fencing. For a fight, aggressiveness is sufficient; fencing requires talent, skill and composure. In a fight, fired up with anger, we do not know what we are doing. A blow can be fatal, despite intentions, and in any case does not promote further contacts between the combatants. Fencing, if it is not a life and death conflict, does not preclude continuation. The trick is not to kill one's partner, but to disarm him. After such a conflict, the participants can shake hands, sit at a common table and get on with joint action.

Wierzbicki feels that communication is for politicians. In my opinion, communication is also, and perhaps most importantly, for representatives of so-called opinion-making circles, including journalists, since after all it is they who should shape public opinion. How can one work on behalf of communication if it is not achievable in one's own environment. And communication (in my opinion) should apply not to opinions because they can be varied, but to coordination of actions, at least the most crucial actions. One could argue about what the school curriculum program should be or where religion should be taught, but there is no doubt that in a country where classes are held in three shifts, schools must be built as soon as possible. One could quarrel about methods of therapy or the organization of medical care, but there is no doubt that hospitals must be built and doctors and auxiliary personnel must be trained. One could carry on a dispute about why alcoholism is rampant in Poland, but above all one must agree on specific joint actions against this plague.

It is impossible to reconcile authentic cooperation with certain forms of aggressiveness. I know this from personal experience because it so happens that in my family I have to deal with people whose opinions differ totally from mine and for years I have worked with a group in which a decided majority of the people are believers. In this group the common denominator is concern for the good of children, in the face of which philosophical differences become less important. But of course none of the members of our group has provoked an aggressive exchange of opinions on the subject of these differences because that would have an undesirable impact on the climate of cooperation.

That is why I personally try to limit aggressiveness in the media (although sometimes one would like to indulge in it) and cultivate the "meandering style" so disagreeable to Wierzbicki. And I think that, when hearing opinions extremely different from our, it is not necessary to shout, "Stop talking nonsense," but rather express that same thought in a more "meandering" form: "that such an intelligent person doesn't understand such simple things."

And so I cannot comprehend how Piotr Wierzbicki, with his intellect, can fail to perceive that economic liberalism, especially in the free-American style that prevails today, is a practice fundamentally contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. Perhaps Wierzbicki does not take the Gospel into account? But in that case, what is he doing at a Catholic publication that is obliged to abide by the recommendations of the Gospel?

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POLAND

PLENARY EPISCOPATE CONFERENCE STATEMENT

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 29 Aug 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 26 August 1985 the pastors of Catholic Poland met at Jasna Gora on the feast of the Blessed Mother of Czestochowa. They participated in ceremonial services, heard the word of God preached by the primate of Poland, then conducted the 208th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate. Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, presided.

1. Jasna Gora remains the main Marian sanctuary in Poland and hundreds of thousands of Poles make their way there. This pilgrimage movement is a characteristic manifestation of religious life in our country that to a tremendous degree includes the young generation of Poles, which expresses its concerns to the Mother of Christ and places its future in her hands. These pilgrimages are an important form of the church's pastoral work in Poland. The bishops expressed appreciation to the priests leading pilgrimages and seeing that they have a religious and penitential nature and increase the life of faith in the people. The bishops also expressed thanks to the Pauline Fathers for their hospitality, their extremely generous reception of pilgrims and their spiritual service.

2. Participating in the Plenary Conference's deliberations was Cardinal Francis Koenig, head of the Austrian Episcopate. This was an expression of cooperation between the Polish Episcopate's conference and the Austrian Episcopate's conference. The last council recommended such cooperation. Cardinal Koenig emphasized this, also speaking about the important role played by Poland and the church in Poland in Europe and the world. The archbishop of Vienna spoke with much appreciation about the initiative of the church in Poland for international assistance for individual Polish farmers, promising the participation of the church in Austria in fulfilling that initiative. He stressed that the program can contribute to reviving relations with Poland and can even contribute productively to dialogue between East and West.

3. In connection with current pastoral issues the bishops discussed the matter of church construction in our country, declaring that recent years have been characterized by an increase in such construction. This was possible thanks to the agreement reached between church and state officials in 1981. This agreement allowed making up for many years of falling behind in building

necessary church structures. The bishops expressed their belief that the agreement will be observed in coming years, being conducive to an proper formation of a social atmosphere and mutual relations between church and state officials.

4. An important event for the church in Poland will be the Eucharistic Congress planned for 1987. The bishops devoted much attention to this matter. The conference adopted the initial determination of the doctrinal, pastoral and organization commission on the substance and course of the congress, whose motto is the words of the Gospel, "To the end he loved them" (John 13:1). The congress will therefore concentrate on the Eucharist as a gift of love and a call to love.

The goals of the congress will include the meaning of the Eucharist for contemporary man as well as for the participation of the faithful in the community and overcoming social division on a national and supranational scale. The congress program anticipates nationwide, diocesan, deanery and parochial celebrations. They will include services as well as planned pastoral activity.

By a fortunate decree of Providence, the congress will take place during preparations for the third millennium from the birth of the redeemer of the world.

5. The school year is beginning. Therefore the bishops discussed problems related to the upbringing of children and youth, including working youth. The bishops recalled that the preparation of children and youth for active participation in society rests with parents, the church and the schools. Total upbringing should harmoniously develop physical, moral and intellectual qualities and may not lead to conflicts of conscience. Particular responsibility here lies with parents who, though evidence of Christian life, exert the deepest influence on their children. They are also the first spokesmen of faith and first teachers of religion.

Concern for religious instruction rests with all the people of God (Can 774 par 1). The church sees religious instruction as one of its fundamental obligations. This obligation is fulfilled mainly through pastors and teachers of religion. But the fruitfulness of religious instruction depends on parental cooperation. Thus a major obligation of conscience of parents and legitimate guardians is seeing that children and youth regularly attend religious instructions. This is one of the basic Christian responsibilities. For it teaches the truths of faith and moral principles and inculcates the practice of Christian life. Regular attendance at religious instructions is all the more necessary since education and upbringing in our schools are inspired by atheistic philosophy.

In concluding the two-day conference, the pastors of Catholic Poland sent blessing from the throne of Our Lady of Jasna Gora for the entire nation of which she is queen.

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POLAND

CORRECTION PUBLISHED ON CATHOLIC EDITOR ARREST

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 4

[Text] Acting on the basis of Article 31, item 1, Statutes of 26 January 1984 -- Rights of the Press (DZIENNIK USTAW No 5 item 24) I request publication in your weekly a correction by the press agent of the Prosecutor General to the article entitled "Video Spiritual Records Center of the Pallotine Priests" published in No 28 of PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI (Cabinet director Stanislaw Momot, prosecutor, Office of the Prosecutor General).

In connection with the contents of the article published in No 28 of your weekly entitled "Video Spiritual Records Center of the Pallotine Priest," I would like to correct as follows:

It is true that on 25 May 1985 in Warsaw three people transporting television and video recording equipment of Japanese manufacture in a Volkswagen van were arrested. Of those arrested, only Marian Terlecki, a civilian employee of the Society of the Catholic Apostolate of the Pallotine Priests, was placed under interim arrest. The other persons, contrary to the information conveyed in PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, were released.

The Office of the Prosecutor General holds evidence of commission of a crime, in connection with which it is conducting an intensive investigation. The evidence has been evaluated by the court, which did not comply with M. Terlecki's complaint about the decision on interim arrest.

For the sake of the investigation, specific determinations will be provided after its completion. (Press agent of the Office of the Prosecutor General, Tadeusz Gielo, Assistant Prosecutor, Office of the Prosecutor General).

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POLAND

CALENDAR OF MAJOR PRESS EVENTS, EDITORIAL CHANGES

Calendar December 84, Jan 85

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 3, Mar 85 pp 59-62

[Excerpts] 1 January: Wojciech Kawinski was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of PISMO.

1 January: Bogdan Mis was appointed editor-in-chief of the monthly STRAZAK, whose publication was commissioned by the National Periodicals Publishing House upon a recommendation by the Association of Volunteer Fire Brigades.

1 January: Stanislaw Stefanski was appointed editor-in-chief of the weekly PRZYJAZN.

1 January: Marian Stepien, the incumbent editor-in-chief of ZDANIE, was reappointed to his position.

4 January: The Ambassador of the Soviet Union Aleksandr Aksyonov received the officers of the Friendship ("Przyjazn") Club of the Democratic Party of the PRL along with its chairman Editor Henryk Bratkowski.

6-13 January: During that period Poland was toured at the invitation of NOWE DROGI by a delegation from KOMMUNIST, a publication of the CPSU Central Committee dealing with theory and politics, headed by Yuriy Afanas'yev, a member of its editorial collegium.

10 January: Boleslaw Porowski was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of the weekly PRZYJAZN.

15 January: Dobroslaw Poprzeczko was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of WIDNOKREGI.

30 January: On that date was held in Warsaw a session of the Supervising Council of the RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch ["Press-Book-Distributors" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House] under the chairmanship of Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and

chairman of the council. The performance of this cooperative in 1984 and its operating conditions in 1985 were discussed.

In connection with their transfer to another post, the Council recalled Zdzislaw Andruszkiewicz from the post of chairman and Janusz Karpinski from the post of vice chairman. Both activists were not only praised and thanked at the session for their devotion and dedication to the posts they held but also decorated with medals of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland and RSW Merit badges.

Wieslaw Rydygier was appointed to the post of chairman of the RSW, while the post of vice chairman was assumed by Marek Raczynski.

31 January: Kira Galczynska was, at her own request, recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of KONTRASTY. In the January issue of KONTRASTY the editorial team together with Kira Galczynska bids adieu to its readers: "Another chapter in the annals of this periodical is closed, a chapter consistently designed by the group of publicists working for it. The decision to change the nature of this periodical from a national to a regional one was adopted at the July plenum of the Bialystok Province PZPR Committee."

Supplement:

1 December: Zbigniew Mikolajczyk was appointed to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE.

31 December: Dobroslaw Poprzeczko was recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of PRZYJAZN owing to his retirement.

Calendar Feb 85 Plus Supplement

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 4, Apr 85 pp 59-62

[Excerpts] 1 February: Andrzej Dzikowski was appointed to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of WIEDZA I ZYCIE.

1 February: Jaroslaw Malyszko was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of SUGESTIE.

15 February: Ryszard Kondrat was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA.

15 February: Jerzy Niesiobedzki was recalled at his own request from the post of editor-in-chief of FAKTY.

18 February: The editorial team of TU I TERAZ bade adieu to its heretofore editor-in-chief Kazimierz Kozniewski in connection with his retirement. The meeting was attended by the Director of the PZPR Central Committee's Press, Radio and Television Department Bogdan Jachacz and the RSW Vice Chairman Alina Tepli, who conveyed to Editor K. Kozniewski their thanks for his continual and

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devoted labor in Polish journalism, and especially for his publicistic and social activities in recent years.

The new editor-in-chief of the periodical Editor Klemens Krzyzagorski was introduced to the editorial team.

Supplement:

1 December 1984: Stefan Opara was appointed editor-in-chief of MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA.

1 December 1984: Stanislaw Rainko was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA.

5 January: Henryk Kollar was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of WIECZOR.

15 January: Krzysztof Pierzchlewski was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of STRAZAK.

Calendar Mar 85

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 5, May 85 pp 57-62

[Excerpts] 1 March: Michal Kaminski was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of TYGODNIK ZAMOJSKI.

1 March: Klemens Krzyzagorski was appointed editor-in-chief of TU I TERAZ.

1 March: Jan Ruranski was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY.

1 March: Edmund Zurek was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of TU I TERAZ and simultaneously recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY.

11 March: Wojciech Jedrzejewski was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of ITD.

On 14 and 15 March, at the Warsaw House of the Journalist, was held the Seventh Plenary Session of the Governing Board of the PRL Association of Journalists.

Welcoming the participants, Chairman Klemens Krzyzagorski stated that this time the deliberations will be of a closely businesslike nature, as ensuing from the requirements of the statute. The plenum is to sum up the Association's performance in 1984, accept the financial report for that year and confirm the budget for 1985. It will also listen to comments by the Main Audit Commission and a report on a study of the earnings of journalists in 1984 as well as on the course of the work on the draft of a new collective bargaining agreement. It will also consider the difficulties relating to the supplies of paper for press publications: a draft position paper of the

Governing Board on this issue will be presented by a commission appointed by the presidium on 1 March.

Secretary General Andrzej Maslankiewicz, in his prefatory address delivered prior to the report on the Association's activities in 1984, which had been sent earlier to the plenum's participants, offered the reminder that the third anniversary of the PRL Association of Journalists will fall due 6 days hence. [He declared:] "This prompts a retrospective assessment of the road traveled, recollection of the initial conditions and, above all, of the coeval situation and status of the [journalist] community. The founding time of our organization was a time of an acute political struggle, with part of the community standing aside and feeling hurt and mistrustful. Upon resurrecting this creative-professional journalist organization we clearly defined its purposes, which are specified in the first paragraph of its statute. And we can say now that these purposes have been accomplished, that the needs and hopes of our community have been fulfilled. The year 1984 was in practice the first full year of normal activities for us. The Association grew in strength, comprising 7,000 members and candidate members (as of 31 December 1984). Organizational stabilization has occurred and further progress could be achieved as regards wages, social services, living conditions and care for pensioners. The number of creative clubs has risen and, above all, their activities have become more energetic. The Journalism Center engages in broad activities that are chiefly oriented toward advancing professional skills.

"The past year was the first year in the entire history of professional journalist organizations in which the Association gained complete financial autonomy and began to dispose of its own substantial funds. This made it possible to commence building the House for the Aged Journalists; to this end, a social committee has to be appointed. It will also be possible in 1985 to broaden social assistance for pensioners and colleagues living under the most difficult conditions. Substantial funds have already been earmarked for building a rest home in Kudowa Jakubowice and for the needs of the FOKSAL Housing Cooperative.

"Our foreign ties have been considerably expanded. Owing to intensive efforts we are regaining our place in international journalist organizations.

"We can feel gratified in stating today that the PRL Association of Journalists has been accepted by a majority of the journalist community, that it simply is needed by it."

The Treasurer of the Governing Board Antoni Kolacinski presented a report on financial activities in 1984 and the premises of the budget for 1985. He offered the reminder that they have already been discussed and analyzed at two sessions of the Plan and Finance Commission, as well as at two sessions of the Presidium. Given the new conditions of self-financing, the presented solutions are optimal; hence, he proposed that the Governing Board accept the documents submitted.

The Chairman of the Main Audit Commission Stanislaw Reperowicz presented comments and recommendations made during the last few sessions of the

Presidium of the Main Audit Commission. [He declared:] "The resolutions of the First Congress are being properly implemented, which is to the credit of both the social aktiv, the commission and the clubs and the apparatus of the Governing Board. This is good testimony to the growing strength of the Association: only 25 percent of journalists are outside its membership. But this should not result in moods of complacency, because we still have weak elements on the editorial teams of many important publications. All the same, the growing influx of young journalists to our organization is gratifying. The structures have become stronger and the elements are performing well. In particular, the creative clubs abound in initiative and enthusiasm, although not all the important spectacles are adequately attended. An important factor spurring work is the Clubs' Council, which operates under the direction of Marian Podkowinski.

"The officers of the PRL Association of Journalists have taken part in legislative work [of the Sejm] and attended to improving working, social and living conditions [of the membership] as well as to preparing a collective bargaining agreement, etc. This represents substantial efforts, because at a time when trade unions were still non-existent or barely nascent, the Association and its officers had acted alone, but effectively.

"Credit is due for [the Association's] assistance in acquiring typewriters, books and motor vehicles, which were allocated completely publicly. However, many colleagues are complaining that the problem of fuel supplies for the entire journalist community could not be completely solved.

A deplorable aspect of our organizational activities is the fact that some of the colleagues elected to various echelons and social bodies do not work [on them?]. This also and unfortunately is demonstrated by the poor attendance of sessions of the Governing Board. Too few members of the Governing Board work in the numerous commissions. The Main Audit Commission places the presidium under the obligation of performing within 3 months an analysis of the membership of the commissions and complementing it with representatives of the Governing Board and major branches of the Association.

"An audit of the expenditures confirmed their accuracy; however, the acquisition of two divans and a bulletin board for the House of the Journalist caused some doubts.

"It is necessary to establish tight deadlines for the completion of inventory-taking and dues-auditing, because these operations have been conducted in too too dilatory a manner.

"The Main Audit Commission found that international policy is pursued correctly, but the membership of the delegations departing abroad should be additionally complemented with members of the Governing Board and the leading aktiv. The Commission has also recommended establishing an archives and library commission and streamlining the present system for filing documents."

Further, the chairman of the Main Audit Commission recommended acceptance of the report on the activities of the PRL Association of Journalists, its presidium, executive bodies and commissions of the Governing Board in 1984.

The colleagues taking part in the discussion were: Jerzy Kiss-Orski, Wojciech Krasucki, Stanislaw Ozonek, Jan Poprawski, Zdzislaw Jastrzebski, Zygmunt Szargut, Stanislaw Majewski, Jan Brodzki, Leszek Blaszczyk and Julian Bartosz.

Among other things, they wondered what kind of people were the journalists -- that 25 percent -- who have not joined the Association. It was stated that there exist groups which we are not reaching. The encouraging fact of the growing number of young new members in our organization faces it with new problems: on the one hand, attracting youth to work in clubs and youth commissions and, on the other, providing assistance to youth in, for example, finding housing (premises vacated by editorial staffs could be assigned for rotating dwellings). It was pointed out that the failure [of the authorities], contrary to the promise made, to consult the Association on hiring decisions does not help our prestige. The criticism was made that the stenographic records of plenary sessions are inaccurate, and it was proposed that an intramural bulletin reporting broadly on the course of the sessions be published or special supplements on that topic to PRASA POLSKA be published. The issue of the failure to implement the resolution on setting up within the Association a special team for small editorial staffs also was raised.

The Chairman of the Board of the RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Dr Wieslaw Rydygier and the Vice Chairman for Publication-Related Matters Alina Tepli discussed the unusually difficult situation as regards the supplies of newsprint for press publications this year. This situation is not expected to improve for the next 2 years at least. This entails the need to reduce the size of the publications printed. This year, however, there will be no reduction in the honorarium fund. The situation is aggravated by the irregular flow of the supplies of newsprint and the attendant seesaw in the size of expenditures.

On behalf of the Presidium of the Governing Board Andrzej Maslankiewicz informed the plenum about, among other things, the letter of the Association's chairman to Premier Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, requesting his intervention to assure imports of newsprint for the dailies. He also presented a draft position paper by the Governing Board of the PRL Association of Journalists on newsprint, addressed to the Government Presidium and the Sejm's Culture Commission, as prepared by a commission appointed by the Presidium of the Governing Board.

Next, the Governing Board acknowledged the acceptance of the report on the Association's work in 1984, as passed by a majority of votes, with 2 absentions, while at the same time approving the financial report for 1984 and passing the budget for 1985.

In addition, the Presidium was placed under the obligation of appointing at its next session a team dealing with small editorial staffs.

The Governing Board appointed -- with one abstention -- the following members of the Committee for Building the Home for the Aged [Journalists]: chairman -- Builder of People's Poland Marian Podkowski; members -- Stanislaw Bardyn, Andrzej Chmielewski, Ignacy Golik, Antoni Kolacinski, Roman Murani and Kazimierz Spolnicki.

On behalf of the Seventh Plenum's Commission for Recommendations, Zbigniew Jastrzebski proposed that the resolution on journalistic education be, in view of the need for additional documentation, submitted and accepted at the 9th Plenum of the Governing Board on 23-24 May in Wroclaw.

Secretary of the Governing Board Andrzej Czalbowski presented an analysis of the earnings of journalists in 1984 as based on polls conducted among nine employers of 7,719 journalists; the statistical material was received by all participants in the Eighth Plenum.

Next, he discussed the progress of the work on a new collective bargaining agreement being jointly drafted by the PRL Association of Journalists (PRL AJ), the Federation of the Trade Unions of Employees of Publishing Houses and the RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, [FZZP RSW], the Federation of the Trade Unions of Radio and Television Employees [FZZP RiTV] and the Trade Union of Polish Press Agency Employees [ZZP PAP]. This work was initiated as far back as in March 1984 by a four-member team appointed by the Presidium of the Governing Board of the PRL AJ. Following the formation of trade unions and their federations, as of last November, joint work on this draft was undertaken by a 12-member team consisting of the following editors: Tadeusz Belerski (ZZP PAP), Leszek Blaszczyk (FZZP RSW), Zbigniew Cyranowicz (FZZP RiTV), Bogdan Dohnke (FZZP RSW), Damazy Kwiatkowski (FZZP RSW), Dariusz Piatkowski (PRL AJ), Kazimierz Pawelek (RZZP RSW), Slawomir Popowski (ZZP PAP), Ryszard Stawicki (FZZP RiTV), Tadeusz Wierzbanowski (PRL AJ) and Maciej Ziminski (PRL AJ), under the direction of Andrzej Czalbowski (PRL AJ). All the members of the team belong to the PRL AJ and five of them are members of its Governing Board. In accordance with the adopted schedule of work, in mid-February the team submitted a preliminary draft of the collective agreement for consultation and comments by the officers of their organizations. After their comments and suggestions were considered and legal consultations carried out, the draft will be offered for consultation to the journalist community before the first half of this year is over. The anticipated deadline for completion of the work on the draft of the new agreement is 1 July 1985.

The plenum participants offered comments and suggestions concerning the draft, copies of which had previously been mailed to them, in writing as well as from the floor of the plenum, on also offering suggestions to the editorial team concerning further progress of the related work.

The Governing Board adopted -- with one abstention -- the following resolution: "The Governing Board of the PRL Association of Journalists has, at its session on 15 March, accepted the submitted draft of collective bargaining agreement as the basis for further work, in accordance with the presented schedule, with allowance for the proposals offered by the chief officers of the PRL AJ."

The deliberations were summed up by the Chairman of the Associations Klemens Krzyzanowski (c).

The Position of the Governing Board of the PRL Association of Journalists on the Management of Newsprint for the Needs of Newspapers and Periodicals:

Being aware of the nation's economic situation, as well as of the situation as regards the supplies of newsprint for publishers, the members of the Governing Board of the PRL AJ feel obliged to express the anxiety of the journalistic community concerning the expected restrictions on circulation and size of various newspapers and periodicals. Even now there is a shortage of dailies and periodicals. Since 1976 a steady decline in the per capita number of copies of newspapers and periodicals has been observed -- to 96 this year from 108 in 1976. The general pool of paper allocated for publishing purposes also has been shrinking: to 225,000 tons this year from 255,000 tons in 1981: this places us at the bottom rank among the European socialist countries.

From the standpoint of the political and propaganda obligations of the mass media, and chiefly the press, in 1985 the journalistic community faces unusually difficult and responsible tasks. This is a year of the reports campaign within the party and of reports-elections campaigns within the allied political parties, youth organizations and the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. This also is a year of elections to the Sejm and preparations for the 10th Congress of the PZPR. We bear in mind that these propaganda tasks do not relieve journalists of their quotidian obligation of winning the society over to the idea of social consensus, to implementing the assumptions of the economic plan and to proving and explaining the need for unpopular decisions regarding living conditions.

At the same time, the genuine democratization of public life requires a broader presentation and confrontation of diverse views and rationales, while the ongoing ideological struggle requires effective countermeasures from the class positions of socialism.

The shortages of paper, and primarily of newsprint, are not a new occurrence. Last year, for example, during the intensification of the campaign prior to the elections to people's councils, press circulation was markedly curtailed, which complicated the implementation of political and propaganda tasks. This year the circulation of some newspapers and periodicals was again curtailed: 13 percent in the case of the dailies published by the RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch and 20 percent in the case of weeklies.

Information received from publishers by the Governing Board of the PRL AJ indicates that additional publishing restrictions are inevitable and will be reflected in reductions in the size, frequency of publication and circulation of many newspapers and periodicals until the end of this year. This constricts still further the range of influence of the press, depriving considerable numbers of readers of the possibility of buying newspapers and mass periodicals. The reduction in the size of newspapers and periodicals also means a reduction in the number of articles published and hence also in those

journalistic activities which chiefly determine the quality of periodicals and explicitly differentiate them. This prompts fears that such journalistic genres as investigative reporting, the daily column or the photoreportage will wither for a long time to come. As for readers, they could complain that, in return for the same price, they receive periodicals of a smaller size and with an altered typographical makeup.

This is not a temporary situation; everything indicates that it may last several years, because the newly opened pulp and paper plants, e.g., the one in Kwidzyn, will not soon provide the additional needed output of newsprint.

Being aware of and understanding all the conditions underlying our economy, the Governing Board of the PRL AJ appeals for undertaking every possible measure, including the allocation of the indispensable foreign exchange for the acquisition of paper, in order that the decisions being currently taken as to supplying the press with paper would assume at least maintaining last year's status as regards the size and circulation of newspapers and periodicals.

Bearing coresponsibility for the effects of the work to implement the program of the ninth party congress, we believe that, in a situation in which economic conditions hinder expanding press readership, every effort should be made to at least halt further decline in this field.

In analyses of the management of paper used for publishing purposes the following factors should, in our opinion, also be considered:

1. The relevance of publishing certain occasional and jubilee publications as well as company calendars, folders and other items based on quality paper.
2. Streamlining the book publishing policies, on understanding the role and significance of books to the growth of national culture.
3. Restricting paper waste in state and economic administration, in services and also in report-drafting.

We point out that publications of the abovementioned kinds not only waste valuable paper but preempt substantial productive capacities of the printing industry.

Being aware of the need for regular analyses of the press market, we postulate that all decisions inferred from such analyses should be taken in cooperation with the Association.

In addition, we recommend:

1. Studying the readership of newspapers and periodicals (and/or audience preferences for radio and TV programs), that is, of the actual influence of and demand for particular newspapers and periodicals.

2. Preparing an analysis of the extent of the mutually complementary nature of the mass media in Poland and, on this basis, drafting a concept of information and propaganda that would allow for the greater specialization and influence of every individual publisher on the reader.

3. On the basis of Lenin's behests, eliminating from our propaganda and publicistic descriptions of the external manifestations of political life as well as excessive protocolarism [formalism of reporting].

4. Adapting the activities of the PAP and other press agencies to the actual needs and possibilities of discrete mass media as well as to the requirements of modern propaganda based on a wealth of facts and valuable comments.

5. Adopting the principle that, in focusing on local issues, local press should serve general political purposes rather than meet the particular ambitions of certain local activists.

At the same time, we are addressing to the journalistic community the postulate of a better utilization of the paper available to publishing houses and discrete editorial staffs.

In the training of journalists and advancing the skills of the already employed journalists special attention should be paid to the selection of the personnel exercising editorial functions.

Warsaw, 14 March 1985

Governing Board of the PRL AJ

15 March: Antoni Budny was appointed to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA.

25 March: Janusz Termer was appointed to the post of editor-in-chief of NOWE KSIAZKI.

Calendar Apr 85 Plus Supplement

Warsaw PRASA POLSKI in Polish No 6, Jun 85 pp 58-62

[Excerpts] 1 April: Maciej Chrzanowski was appointed to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of TU I TERAZ.

1 April: Zofia Dabrowska-Caban, previously deputy editor-in-chief of RODZINA I SZKOLA, was appointed editor-in-chief of that periodical.

1 April: Kazimierz Marcinkowski was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of GAZETA POZNANSKA.

1 April: Edward Mikolajczyk was appointed editor-in-chief of the Directing Editorial Staff of INTERPRESS Film and Television Press Agency.

1 April: Jozef Tredowicz was appointed editor-in-chief of TEMA and at the same time recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of that periodical.

15 April: Jozef Szewczyk was appointed editor-in-chief of POLITECHNIKA.

15 April: Antoni Szymanowski was recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of POLITECHNIKA and appointed deputy editor-in-chief of MOTOR.

27 April: [Article by (zj)] In Legnica the Northern Troop Group Command of the Soviet Army as well as its subordinate units and garrison troops were visited by journalists from Warsaw, Wroclaw, Bydgoszcz and other cities, representing central and regional press, radio and television. The initiator of the meeting was the Governing Board of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship (TPPR) and the Political Directorate of the Northern Troop Group of the Soviet Army in Poland. The team of Polish journalists was cared for and escorted by the Chief of the Political Directorate of the Northern Troop Group of the Soviet Army in Poland Maj Gen Igor Titov and the Secretary of the TPPR Governing Board Boleslaw Borysiuk. The role of the guide was played by journalists from the Soviet newspaper ZNAM'YA POBEDY, headed by its Editor-in-Chief Col Nikolay Belovov. The tour program commenced with laying flowers at the Monument of Gratitude in Legnica. At the local House of the Officer was held a meeting with the Soviet military, combined with a tour of the amateur works of art produced by Soviet military personnel. The journalists familiarized themselves with the conditions of the day-by-day peacetime service of Soviet troops, their combat training and political indoctrination, their cultural life and the modern base of their armament. The journalists were interested in the conditions of billeting, nutrition and rest and recreation. Much room in the talks with Soviet soldiers was devoted to their daily close and mutual contacts with Polish friends: soldiers, the authorities and the civilian population.

The theme of Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation was developed as the agenda of the tour continued to be followed, during a visit to the Museum of Combat Glory and Brotherhood of Arms. The guests showed special interest in touring the hall devoted to the Warsaw Pact as well as the collection of souvenirs of Konstantin Rokossovskiy, marshal of the Soviet Union and marshal of Poland, who was the first commander of the Northern Troop Group of the Soviet Army in Poland. They also toured a hall bearing the name "The Polish People's Republic is Building Socialism," which contains an exhibition arranged by the Museum of the Polish Army and transmitted to Soviet friends by the GZP [Main Political Directorate] of the Polish Army.

During a press conference at the House of Friendship, Province Board of the TPPR, Maj Gen Igor Titov and Col Nikolay Belovov discussed, among other things, the achievements and prospects of cooperation between the Northern Troop Group of the Soviet Army in Poland and the editorial staff of ZNAM'YA POBEDY, on the one hand, and the Polish press, radio and television on the other. The Soviet military were handed a letter of congratulations from the Province Board of the TPPR on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of victory over Hitlerite fascism, signed by Chairman Tadeusz Filipowicz and Secretary Maria Ewert, as well as a commemorative medal of the 40th anniversary of the TPPR in Pomerania and Kujawy. These will enrich the museum exhibits in Legnica documenting Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation on the 40th

anniversary of the return of the Polish western and northern territories to the Motherland.

29 April: At the seat of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee, Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw Province PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak met with the management, employees and journalists of the RSW Modern Publishing House. Eighty-one employees were decorated with medals of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. Those so distinguished include the following journalists: Henryk Bereza (TWORCZOSC), Jan Bijak (POLITYKA), Jerzy Borowiecki (IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA), Wiktor Bryx (RZECZYWISTOSC), Adam Chalupec (ZHIVOT), Stanislaw Chelstowski (ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE), Danuta Chrzczonowicz (GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI), Andrzej Dobrzynski (PERSPEKTYWY), Wieslaw Dubicki (POLITYKA), Roman Dudek (FAKTY I KOMENTARZE), Ziemowit Fedeki (TWORCZOSC), Juliusz Glowacki (BARWY), Mieczyslaw Gora (PERSPEKTYWY), Jozef Grabowicz (ZYCIE PARTII), Edward Grzelak (ZYCIE PARTII), Jan Guranowski (LITERATURA), Bohdan Gutkowski (FORUM), Bohdan Herbich (FORUM), Michal Hofman (FORUM), Zbigniew Isaak (FORUM), Eugeniusz Kabate (LITERATURA NA SWIECIE), Eugeniusz Kaczmarczyk (PRASA POLSKA), Alina Kibil (PRAWO I ZYCIE), Wieslaw Klimczak (NOWE DROGI), Ryszard Kondrat (MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA), Jerzy Koenig (DIALOG), Tadeusz Kolodziejczyk (ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY), Krystyna Krasucka (ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY), Wladyslaw Kulicki (NOWE CZASY), Eligiusz Lasota (FUNDAMENTY), Andrzej Lesiewski (SUGESTIE), Witold Leski (ZYCIE PARTII), Jadwiga Lipowska (PRZYJACIOLKA), Jerzy Lisowski (TWORCZOSC), Igor Lopatynski (ZYCIE PARTII), Ewa Luszczyk-Marek (PRZYJACIOLKA), Jan Lysek (NOWE CZASY), Miroslaw Malcharek (LITERATURA NA SWIECIE), Stanislaw Milec (PERSPEKTYWY POLSKIE), Henryk Olszewski (IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA), Zbigniew Pawlowski (GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI), Wacław Piatkowski (RZECZYWISTOSC), Zdzislaw Pis (ARGUMENTY), Jerzy Piorkowski (TWORCZOSC), Krzysztof Poklewski-Koziell (PANSTWO I PRAWO), Wojciech Pomykalo (OSWIATA I WYCHOWANIE), Marian Preis (FORUM), Zofia Przytkowska-Grosman (PROBLEMY POKOJU I SOCJALIZMU), Jerzy Putrament (LITERATURA), Mieczyslaw Radomski (TEATR), Wieslaw Rogowski (ARGUMENTY), Wieslaw Rustecki (BARWY), Boguslaw Rychwalski (ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY), Jerzy Sokolowski (TEATR), Boleslaw Solinski (LITERATURA), Wlodzimierz Sokorski (MIESIECZNIK LITERACKI), Artur Starewicz (PERSPEKTYWY POLSKIE), Karol Szware (ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE), Ryszard Swierkowski (PERSPEKTYWY), Zdzislaw Szakiewicz (PROBLEMY POKOJU I SOCJALIZMU), Zygmunt Szeliga (POLITYKA), Jan Szewczyk (FAKTY I KOMENTARZE), Leslaw Tokarski (PERSPEKTYWY), Stanislaw Trocha (NOWE DROGI), Marian Turski (POLITYKA), Andrzej Wielunski (CZLOWIEK I SWIATOPOGLAD), Zofia Wierzbicka (RZECZYWISTOSC), Leszek Wilczynski (PRZYJACIOLKA), Ignacy Wirski (ZYCIE PARTII), Adam Wodzinski (FORUM), Henryk Zaganczyk (PREZENTACJE), Jerzy Zajackowski (ZA WOLNOSC I LUD) and Henryk Zdanowski (POLITYKA).

In addition, the medal of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland was conferred on the Director of the Modern Publishing House Zbigniew Wozniak and his deputy Kazimierz Witkowski.

30 April: Mieczyslaw Maciejak was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of WALKA MLODYCH.

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Supplement:

1 March: Boguslaw Wroblewski was appointed to the post of editor-in-chief of AKCENT.

15 March: Eugeniusz Kostrzewa was appointed to the post of first deputy editor-in-chief of PRZYJAZN.

Calendar May 85

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 7, Jul 85 pp 56-60

[Excerpts] 1 May: Stanislaw Cwik was appointed to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of WALKA MLODYCH.

1 May: Andrzej Dusza was appointed to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of PRZEGLAD KONINSKI.

1 May: Marek Niedzwiedzki, acting deputy editor-in-chief of the weekly NAD WARTA, was appointed to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of that weekly.

10 May: Ewa Wierzcholska was appointed to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of RODZINA I SZKOLA and recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of SWIAT MLODYCH.

15 May: Mieczyslaw Krajewski was appointed to the post of deputy editor-in-chief of LITERATURA.

15 May: At the Warsaw House of the Journalist was held the founding meeting of the Section of Documentalists of the Editorial Club of the PRL Association of Journalists. The agenda of the meeting included a report on the current status of press documentation in Poland and its development prospects. During the meeting the board of the Section was elected. Its members are: chairman, Jerzy Waszkiewicz (PAP); vice chairman, Malgorzata Mieczkowska-Borejko (PERSPEKTYWY); secretary, Andrzej Bernard (INTERPRESS Press Agency), plus Tadeusz Biel (Wielkopolska Press Publishing House) and Zbigniew Sowinski (SLOWO POWSZECHNE).

16 May: Witold Podedworny was recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of SUGESTIE and appointed editor-in-chief of KONKRETY.

16 May: Wojciech Rosiecki was appointed to the post of editor-in-chief of SUGESTIE.

16 May: Maria Samborska was recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of KONKRETY.

20 May: [Article by (rp)] The Club of World-Outlook Publicistics, PRL Association of Journalists, was formed in Warsaw. It associates publicists whose work deals with denominational and world-outlook subjects, dialogue, state-Church relations and the place and role of religious communities in the

modern world. The founding meeting was attended by representatives from all milieux, both journalists from the specialized secular press, periodicals published by Catholic and the Christian press, and representatives of radio and television as well as of local press. A seven-member board of the Club was elected, whose composition is as follows: chairman, Boguslaw Czarminski (TV); vice chairman, Prof Stanislaw Markiewicz (PROBLEMY WYZNAN I LAICYZACJI); plus Krzysztof Bielecki (TYGODNIK POLSKI) and secretary, Radoslaw Piszczek (MYSL SPOLECZNA, as well as the members Zdzislaw Slowik (CZLOWIEK I SWIATOPOGLAD), Boguslaw Morawski (SLOWO LUDU) and Zbigniew Stachowski (ARGUMENTY).

The founding meeting of the Club was combined with a meeting with Director Kazimierz Szablewski of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the continual first director of the Team for Regular Working Contacts Between the PRL Government and the Vatican, who examined in his opening address as well as during the lively discussion the main assumptions of the relations between Poland and the Vatican as well as their current status.

23-24 May: In Wroclaw -- on the 40th anniversary of the return of the western and northern territories to the Motherland -- was held the ninth plenary session of the Governing Board of the PRL Association of Journalists. On the second day a joint session of the Governing Board of the PRL AJ and the Board of the RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch was held. The papers presented by Editor Andrzej Bulat and Editor Bohdan Onichimowski and the discussion prompted by the problems and topics raised in these papers are published in the first part of this issue of PRASA POLSKA. In this place we shall report on the discussion of the draft resolution of the Governing Board of the PRL AJ concerning the professional education of journalists and the latest actions taken by the Association to promote improvements in the material situation of the journalistic community.

Copies of the draft resolution on the professional education of journalists had previously been sent out to the members of the Governing Board after being prepared by a commission appointed in December 1984 and working under the direction of Editor Zdzislaw Jastrzebski. The draft of this document caused many controversies as reflected in the lively discussion, during which the following took the floor: Docent Tadeusz Kupis and the editors Jozef Kielb, Marian Podkowinski, Zdzislaw Jastrzebski, Marian Butrym, Tadeusz Wierzbanski and Stanislaw Majewski.

Tadeusz Kupis offered his personal view on the teaching of journalism, stating that it should be taught within the system of university studies, and such studies can be organized and conducted only at centers staffed with adequate numbers of faculty engaging in research into the theory and practice of the mass media. The speaker argued in favor of taking measures to modernize the journalism training centers and upgrade their accommodations and facilities. The Association should be more active in qualifying students in all three areas of study relating to journalism, and it should assist in the activities of the evening schools of journalism for youth and the clubs of student journalists as well as accept coresponsibility for the internship of journalism students. In addition, the Association should provide recommendations for colleagues learning the profession, because it matters to

whom is the education and upbringing of journalist youth entrusted. The speaker proposed setting up a team for dealing with the education of journalists under the Governing Board of the PRL Association of Journalists.

Leszek Gontarski faulted the draft resolution on its merit. On listening to the presentation of that draft and to the proposals of Docent Kupis, he received the impression that the Association is properly conducting journalism studies and is responsible for them, for the recruitment procedures and for the preparation of candidates for these studies, and further that a most important problem in that education is the facilities, i. e., typewriters, computers, and that supposedly excellent journalists would be produced once this matter is attended to. In the opinion of Editor Gontarski, it is the recruitment and instructional procedures that matter most. As an example of a proven form of recruitment that was omitted in the draft resolution he named the Contest "An Index for a Debut," already organized seven times by the editorial board of RAZEM in cooperation with the ministry of education. The average grade of the 52 candidates thus selected for higher studies is 4.6; 90 percent of the candidates are of worker-peasant origin; and the first six candidates have already been hired. In addition, the speaker criticized the current state of education. He declared that many journalism graduates are unaware of what they should do so far as both political and professional requirements are concerned. He said: "If we want the Association's position to count for something, we should evaluate the present system of education and recruitment for higher studies and postulate changes that would avert the rise, within a few years, of a shortage of journalists due to the current methods of teaching journalists on fulltime basis. And that not only because the graduates of these studies have such defective training but also because many of them don't enter our profession after completing their studies."

Jozef Kielb took a position on one of the theses of Docent Kupis's paper, questioning whether journalists should be trained precisely in places where the number of professors and docents is the largest. Does the number of faculty with these titles predetermine the education of new journalists? In the speaker's opinion, "We should train journalists wherever there are many idealistic activists with a lofty world outlook. There is a need for a teaching cadre consisting of such men as Prof Zygmunt Mlynarski, a communist, who know how to train journalists. Facilities are important, but it is the instructional staff that matters most. What people are teaching our profession in Warsaw? Those who can't practice it owing to their extremist activities."

Marian Podkowinski declared that rearing young people into journalists should not mean shaping them in one's own personal image. In his opinion, practice, calling, devotion to the vocation, is most important: the human being comes first, and only afterward we can consider his education rather than the production of journalistic bookkeepers. Also in the speaker's opinion, teaching how to learn comes before schooling. A journalist should be aware himself of what he should learn. Without that awareness he will be blown away by the wind of history.

Zdzislaw Jastrzebski, speaking on behalf of the commission which prepared the draft resolution, proposed that the plenary session accept the resolution upon

recommending that the amendments proposed during the discussion be considered by the regular staff of the Association's Governing Board. Moreover, Editor Jastrzebski disagreed with the objection that the draft resolution overestimates the importance of technical facilities to education, because in his opinion not even the most shining ideas will supplant tools; nothing will be produced in the absence of tools.

Editor Jastrzebski's motion was supported by: Tadeusz Wierzbowski, Andrzej Maslankiewicz and Tadeusz Kupis.

Those taking the floor to oppose the acceptance of the resolution were: Marian Butrym, Stanislaw Majewski and Leszek Gontarski. They argued that haste in such an important matter as training in journalism is inadvisable: the position to be taken by the Association should be properly considered and the text of the resolution tightened.

It was resolved that the commission will continue its work on the draft resolution concerning training in journalism, upon complementing its membership with additional names.

The Organizational Secretary of the Governing Board Editor Andrzej Czalbowski reported on the fate of the new collective bargaining agreement for journalists. He declared: "Its signing in the near future is not possible, because, as already known, the decree on collective bargaining agreements is not going to be acted upon during the current session of the Sejm. Hence the Association has, in cooperation with the RSW, taken the path of individual actions on salary matters. A session held last March by the Presidium of the Governing Board of the Association and attended by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk dealt with salary matters. These gained the Secretary's support and served as the basis for dispatching a letter to Minister Stanislaw Gebala. That letter was sent on 17 May, and it was signed by the Chairman of the Association Klemens Krzyzagorski and the RSW Chairman Wieslaw Rydygier. The letter contains proposals for a greater differentiation in basic salaries as well as for increases in functional and editorial allowances and night-work allowances. Branch boards of the PRL AJ will be kept posted about further developments on this matter. Furthermore, we shall provide progress reports on the fate of the collective bargaining agreement."

During the plenary session the following meritorious journalists were decorated with the Medal of the 40th Anniversary of People's Poland: Andrzej Czalbowski (Governing Board of the PRL AJ), Jerzy Gorzedowski (GAZETA ROBOTNICZA, Wroclaw), Wlodzimierz Goszczynski (Team of Senior Journalists, Warsaw), Henryka Hussak (Team of Senior Journalists, Warsaw), Jerzy Kiss-Orski (GAZETA POMORSKA, Bydgoszcz), Jozef Krolikowski (GLOS WYBRZEZA, Gdansk), Klemens Krzyzagorski (TU I TERAZ, Warsaw), Tadeusz Lutogniewski (SPRAWY I LUDZIE, Wroclaw), Jozef Lukaszewicz (SLOWO POLSKIE, Wroclaw), Henryk Maziejuk (PERSPEKTYWY, Warsaw), Zbigniew Mosingiewicz (TRYBUNA WALBRZYSKA, Walbrzych), Stanislaw Ozonok (DZIENNIK LUDOWY, Warsaw), Wladyslaw Orlovski (TV, Warsaw), Stanislaw Reperowicz (TRYBUNA LUDU, Warsaw), Jerzy Skokowski (Publications Bureau, PRL AJ), Wojciech Swiecicki (WIECZOR WYBRZEZA, Gdansk), Zygmunt Szargut (Team of Senior Journalists, Warsaw), Jan Szatsznajder (GAZETA

ROBOTNICZA, Wroclaw), Tadeusz Tulasiewicz (SLOWO POLSKIE, Wroclaw, posthumously -- the medal was received by his niece), Zofia Wojtowicz (Team of Senior Journalists, Warsaw), Anna Wozniak (TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, Katowice) and Michal Zywiec (SLOWO POLSKIE, Wroclaw).

In addition, 12 persons were decorated with medals "25 Years in Journalism" and 81 with gold badges of the PRL AJ.

31 May: Maciej Chrzanowski was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of TU I TERAZ in connection with the shutdown of that periodical.

31 May: Jan Koprowski was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of TU I TERAZ in connection with the shutdown of that periodical.

31 May: Klemens Krzyzagorski was recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of TU I TERAZ in connection with the shutdown of that periodical.

31 May: Edmund Zurek was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of TU I TERAZ in connection with the shutdown of that periodical.

Calendar Supplement for 85

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 8, Aug 85 p 61

[Excerpts] 31 March: Ireneusz Kaminski was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of MORZE in connection with his retirement.

31 March: Jerzy Matuszkiewicz was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of WPROST in connection with his retirement.

31 March: Kazimiera Tyborowska was recalled from the post of editor-in-chief of RODZINA I SZKOLA in connection with her retirement.

1386
CSO: 2600/1041

POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW GDANSK AUXILIARY BISHOP--As announced by the secretariat of the primate of Poland, Pope John Paul II has elevated to the status of bishop Rev. Zygmunt Pawlowicz, prelate and pastor of St. Anthony parish in Gdansk-Brzezno, naming him auxiliary bishop of the Gdansk diocese. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Aug 85 p 2] 12776

NEW AUXILIARY BISHOPS--The consecration of two auxiliary bishops named by John Paul II, Bishop Jan Baginski and Bishop Gerard Kusz, was celebrated on 15 August at Holy Cross Cathedral in Opole. During the mass, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, gave the homily. The metropolitan of Wroclaw, Cardinal Gulbinowicz, also participated in the ceremonies. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Aug 85 p 2] 12776

ORTHODOX CHURCH LEADERS VISIT--At the Christian Social Society Center in Zalesie near Warsaw a meeting took place between the metropolitan of Minsk and Byelorussia, the chairman of the foreign division of the Moscow Patriarchate, Filaret, and persons accompanying him, with the president of the Christian Social Society and member of the State Council Kazimierz Morawski as well as members of the society's administration. Issues connected with the role of Christians in opposing the threat of war were discussed and the significance of cooperation between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Christian Social Society to broaden friendship and comprehensive between Poland the USSR was stressed. The significance of recent initiatives by the USSR on restraint of the arms race, suspension of nuclear weapons testing and use of space for peaceful purposes was emphasized. The Orthodox metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland, Bazylia, also participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Aug 85 p 2] 12776

ANTI-TUROWICZ ARTICLES ASSAILED--In the weekly KULTURA a coarse article by Zygmunt Kaluzynski was published as a response to polemics by Jerzy Turowicz. We will not debate on this level. [Text] [Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 85 p 1] 12776

MORE ON CATHOLIC EDITORS ARREST--As reported in PRZEGLAND KATOLICKI (No 28/1985), being held under interim arrest are three employees of the Video Spiritual Records Center of the Pallotine Priests of Gdansk, who were on their way to a religious ceremony in Oltarzew. They were arrested 25 May by officials of the Municipal Office of Internal Affairs in Warsaw. Their automobile was seized as "proceeding from a crime, along with filming equipment, the property of the Society of the Catholic Apostolate of the Pallotine Priests. Against one of those arrested, Marian Terlecki, a permanent employee of the center, the prosecutor applied a sanction of a three month interim arrest on the basis of Arts 200 and 201 of the Code of Penal Proceedings (a charge of seizure of public property of major value, with a potential penalty of 5 to 25 years imprisonment). The investigation persists despite documentation of ownership presented by church authorities. [Text] [Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY IN Polish No 31, 4 Aug 85 p 7] 12776

CSO: 2600/1024

ROMANIA

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF ADOPTION OF CONSTITUTION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 15, 10 Aug 85 pp 18-20

/Article by Univ Reader Dr Marin Neagu and Cristian Ionescu: "The Romanian Socialist State in a New Stage of Its Historical Development"/

/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu said, "In compliance with the RCP Program and the Ideological Program we must keep trying to improve the state, to strengthen the sense of responsibility and order, and to apply the laws consistently in all fields."

It is now 20 years since the Grand National Assembly expressed the entire people's sovereign will by ratifying the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, an event of major importance in Romania's development on the course of construction of the new order, prosperity and all-around progress. As Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The Constitution of Socialist Romania reflects the fulfillment of the workers' hopes of freedom and it is the charter of national sovereignty and freedom, of the socialist nation's progress, of full equality of rights for all citizens of Romania regardless of nationality, and of full assertion of the dignity and personality of the individual as the builder of socialism and the purposeful creator of his own history."

Drafted shortly after the Ninth Party Congress, which inaugurated a new era in the nation's history, the Constitution reflects the principled, innovating guidelines and the profoundly creative and innovating spirit lent all social activity by the forum of the Romanian communists under the telling influence of the party general secretary's far-sighted and enterprising thought. Legalizing the new social relations and the radical changes made in Romanian society after the victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation, the basic law of the land ratified 20 years ago also opened up broad prospects for rapid construction of the new order, intensive development of the economy, science, education and culture, improvement of political and social relations, consolidation of the socialist state, enhancement of workers socialist democracy, and Romania's further advancement in international affairs as a fully independent and sovereign socialist state.

The Charter of the Romanians' Great Revolutionary Gains

The complete victory of socialism in city and village and the radical changes made in the economy and in all social-political activity made it necessary to draft a new constitution recognizing the new national realities and the changes in the people's lives and providing the constitutional framework for consolidating socialist construction and preparing to begin building the fully developed socialist society. The Constitution ratified in August 1965 marked the change of Romania's name to the Socialist Republic of Romania and reflected the foregoing great innovations, a decision with historical echoes of the Romanian people's struggle for national freedom and social justice that was enthusiastically received by the supreme legislative forum and the entire Romanian people. Article 1 of the Constitution solemnly stipulates that "The Socialist Republic of Romania is a sovereign, independent and unified state of urban and rural workers. Its territory is inalienable and indivisible." The country's new name fully corresponded to the stage reached in the country's social-political and economic development and to the prospects of innovation opened up to Romania's general progress by the Ninth Party Congress.

Reflecting the continuous revolutionary process in Romania, the Constitution legalized the changes made in the nature of the political power and the unified, independent and sovereign character of the Romanian socialist state. The inherent tie among those characteristics is the quintessence of the people's single and indivisible power based on the worker-peasant alliance. Article 4 of the Constitution proclaims, "The people, the sovereign holders of the power, exercise it through the Grand National Assembly and through the people's councils, organs elected by universal, equal, direct and secret ballot." The Constitution also recognized the uniformity of the economy by specifying that the national economy is based on socialist ownership of the production means. The nation's basic charter also recognized the major gains of the new order, namely abolition of social oppression and exploitation, full equality of all citizens regardless of nationality, and the new status of the workers as owners, producers and beneficiaries of the national wealth. The Constitution says, "Exploitation of man by man is abolished forever in Romania and the socialist principle of distribution according to quantity and quality of work is carried out. Work is an honorable duty of every Romanian citizen."

In the period following the Ninth Party Congress and the ratification of the Constitution of victorious socialism, a period rightly called the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era" with patriotic pride, the originality of the measures adopted to resolve the vital questions of social organization and management was very striking, as well as the creative application of the historical and dialectical materialist conception to Romania's particular social-historical conditions and the capacity for in-depth study and dialectical treatment of the new phenomena and trends arising in the process of revolutionary social reform and development on that basis of political policies to secure the nation's brisk progress and prosperity. In his speech at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Main Party Activists on the 20th anniversary of the Ninth Party Congress the party general secretary said, "It has unleashed the creative energies of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all workers regardless of nationality and the entire people, and it may be said it has opened up a new and free path to revolutionary thought and action."

The innovating course inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress influenced all Romanian society, and the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism was drafted in that spirit at Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion and with his telling contribution.

The Romanian people have made notable progress in all activities in the last 20 years under the leadership of the party and its general secretary. Once a country with an underdeveloped industry and agriculture, Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country with a developed modern industry and an advanced socialist agriculture. An important part in this was played by the regional-administrative reorganization and development of the counties and allocation and development of industry, agriculture and the other economic sectors in all counties and areas of the country. An extensive construction program for housing and other social buildings was implemented on the basis of the general development of the productive forces, as well as continuing improvement of the people's material and cultural living standard and a widespread ideological and political-educational effort to form the new man as a purposeful builder of socialism and communism and to indoctrinate him in the spirit of work and high socialist revolutionary patriotism.

The directions of socioeconomic development in the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and on to the year 2000 set by the 13th RCP Congress and marking Romania's start on the third stage of the RCP Program will mean new and important successes on all levels of social activity and will bring Romania up to new peaks of progress, prosperity and material and cultural welfare. By the end of this century Romania will be a fully developed socialist country both in industry, agriculture, education, science and culture and in the people's general standard of living and civilization, making it possible to assert the communist principles of work and life more and more effectively in practice.

Further Improvement of Social Organization and Management

Ratification of the Constitution inaugurated a new and higher stage in the development of the Romanian socialist state and of its whole society, bringing innovations in its political superstructure and in the ways and means of effective promotion of socialist democracy.

On the premise that the new order must prove its superiority not only by economic progress but also by developing consistently democratic political activity, the RCP has regularly applied a series of measures to improve social organization and management in the last 20 years at Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion and under his guidance. As a result the Romanian socialist state acquired an increasingly important role in organizing the whole activity of economic and social construction and in securing widespread participation of the masses of workers in the management of the various fields and sectors and in national development. As the party general secretary pointed out at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Main Party Activists in July 1985, "We can state that we have created a unified democratic system of social management superior to any form of bourgeois democracy. This system provides for extensive participation of the workers and the entire people in management of all socioeconomic sectors and of Romanian socialist society and in the people's purposeful construction of their own free and independent future and the socialist and communist future."

The sustained efforts are well known that the RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu have been making to consolidate and improve the socialist state's activity, to keep strengthening its ties with the workers, and to improve its working methods and approach. Reflecting the great changes that have taken place in Romanian society, the Romanian socialist state is proving more and more of a profoundly democratic power as a state of workers revolutionary democracy.

In criticizing the simplistic, petrified views of the state as something immutable and unchanged, the party general secretary pointed out that the state is a historical category that changes with the changes in society. In that light, he and the RCP made a masterly analysis of the present stage of socialist construction in Romania on the basis of the radical changes that have been made in all components of the whole social system. The designation of the Romanian state as a dictatorship of the proletariat was accordingly abandoned and changed to a state of workers revolutionary democracy, corresponding to the nature of the Romanian political system in its present stage of development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Main Party Activists, "By eliminating certain abuses and certain old characteristics of the state, especially the character of the state as an instrument for one class' domination of other classes, we are creating a new, democratic state in which the people exercise power directly but which provides for the unity and management of all activities."

On the basis of the interpretation of the direction of the changes socialism is making in the degree of development of the productive forces, the nature of production relations, the social and class structure, political awareness and the level of scientific knowledge, the RCP sees the socialist state's role in a permanent correlation with consistent development of socialist democracy. In accordance with this profoundly scientific view the RCP keeps working for stronger ties of the state with the people, so that the work of all the social management organs will always be supported by the masses of workers, will staunchly and consistently protect their interests, and will also be under the people's general control. This main characteristic of socialist democracy embodies the principle of government of the state and society by the masses and the people themselves.

The consistently democratic development of Romanian society is one of the areas wherein the innovating originality of Nicolae Ceausescu's thought has been most striking, as well as the function of social innovation exercised by the party as the leading political force of Romanian society. This creative activity has produced a uniform, harmonious and coherently articulated system of workers revolutionary democracy combining the governmental with the public elements, representative with direct democracy, and uniform social management with the forms of workers self-management on all levels and in all fields of socioeconomic activity.

Participation in the exercise of political power, as a basic right enacted by the Constitution, is effected via the representative organs, namely the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils. Moreover ways and means of direct participation in social management have been devised in the last 20 years for the workers and the entire people. The quintessence of the masses' growing participation in management of socioeconomic and all other activities is workers self-management, reflecting the growing assertion of the role of the working class as the leading class of Romanian socialist society. Thanks to the tireless

efforts of the party and its general secretary many workers self-management bodies have been created, namely the workers councils and general assemblies (supreme administrative organs of the owners, producers and beneficiaries in enterprises and institutions) as well as broad national forums providing for the masses' organized participation in management of society as a whole.

The still more intensive growth, in the present stage, of the state's role in uniform organization and management of all socioeconomic activity on the basis of the Unified National Plan is one of the chief conclusions drawn from the views in the Report to the 13th Party Congress, in the other documents approved by the communists' great forum, and in all of Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works. As the Report to the 13th Party Congress said, experience and the practice of social development reveal the lack of scientific basis and profound error of theories that the state's role and functions in socioeconomic management should be restricted or rejected. On the contrary, society's whole present and future evolution and purposeful application of the laws of social development call for further improvement of management in all fields.

The great scope of the revolutionary process of building the fully developed socialist society, the rapid economic changes, and the improved political system demand further development of the state's role in administration of the national wealth, organization of social management, and regulation of social relations. Therefore any attempt to diminish the state's role and functions must be rejected as contrary to the standards of progress. At the Plenum of the Party Central Committee and the Main Party Activists on the Anniversary of the Ninth Party Congress Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We must realize that self-management and intensive promotion of workers revolutionary democracy are possible solely on the basis of uniform management of all national development according to the Unified National Plan and through further development of the state's role as a basic factor for the victory of socialism and communism and for reinforcement of the nation's material and intellectual strength and of Romania's sovereignty and independence!"

Ever Closer Collaboration of the State Organs with the New Democratic Bodies

Of course the Romanian state's increased role does not mean a monopoly on administrative activity but, on the contrary, the entire people's more intensive participation in social management and the state's ever closer identification with all society's aspirations. Romanian society is managed through a broadly democratic system with multiplication of the decision-making centers of consultation of the masses. The relationship between the state and the new bodies of workers revolutionary democracy takes the form of a far-reaching, historically original dialectic combining the party, the state, the mass and public organizations, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and workers self-management in the actual activity. This reflects a higher developmental stage of the Romanian political system, a new kind of political relations, and new political structures that are participative by their very nature. Accordingly the development of the state's role and that of socialist democracy are interdependent aspects of the same single process. Therefore the combination and interaction of state activity with that of the mass and public organizations and workers self-management bodies are objective necessities of optimal operation of the social management system.

In demonstrating the need of close combination and collaboration of the state organs with the workers self-management bodies, Nicolae Ceausescu also pointed to

the harmful effects of dogmatic interpretation of this objective process as a nationalization of the self-management bodies or their isolation from the state organs. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, promotion of socialist democracy as a vital factor for socialist and communist construction is not to be understood "as anarchic but in the sense of the people's active and organized participation in management of all activities, in which the state will play an important part both in the present stage and in communism. No society can ever dispense with some body for uniform management of all activity!"

From the standpoint of development of Romanian society, harmonious collaboration among the party, the state, the mass and public organizations and the workers self-management organs will go on in the future too. In this process the emphasis will be on bringing the party's leadership up to new and qualitatively higher levels and developing the state's role in uniform social management.

The system of workers revolutionary democracy embodies not only the representative and direct participation whereby the masses play an active and effective part in social management but also the higher values of Romanian society. Accordingly the process of continuous development of socialist democracy made it possible to actually achieve individual and social freedom, which were embodied not only in the system of liberal civil rights and freedoms but also in the high responsibilities and obligations to society and the people, as well as a true social and national equality in all economic, political, legal, social and cultural walks of life, and to promote the principles of socialist ethics and justice stemming from the very nature of the Romanian system.

Meanwhile the national Constitution stipulates that "Romanian citizens have equal rights in all economic, political, legal, social and cultural walks of life, without distinction of nationality, race, sex or religion. The state guarantees its citizens' equality of rights. No restriction of those rights is tolerated, nor any discrimination in their exercise on grounds of nationality, race, sex or religion." Consistent implementation of those provisions and the correct, Marxist-Leninist solution of the minorities problem in Romania ensured all Romanian citizens' full equality of rights regardless of nationality and their increasingly active participation in all socioeconomic and political activities, as well as consolidation of the unity and strength of the entire people. The Romanian workers of Hungarian, German and other nationalities all together make up the great family of socialist Romania, working with determination, in close unity and under the leadership of the party and its secretary general for the progress and prosperity of the common fatherland.

It is a basic fact of Romanian socialist society that "In Romania the RCP is the leading political force of all society," as the Constitution says. The RCP has emerged more and more effectively in the last 20 years as the vital center of the nation. It has steadily improved its working methods and approach, constantly strengthened its ties with the entire people, and become a true party of the masses. It is to Nicolae Ceausescu's unquestionable credit that he never failed to encourage further consolidation of the party's tie with the masses and always saw to it that the entire policy of the party and socialist state was based on the will and highest interests of the people. As he pointed out, "We must not for a moment forget that advancement of the party's leadership is possible only in close contact with the working class, workers of all nationalities and the entire people, and that it is only the entire people's active participation in

the management of Romanian socialist society that lends highest expression to the party's leadership in society."

As we know Nicolae Ceausescu has reconsidered both the relations between the party and the state and the exercise of the party's political leadership, as well as the organization and functions of the Romanian socialist state, in a new light since the Ninth Party Congress. It is due to his inventive thought and revolutionary political action that correlation of state and public activity with that of the party has become characteristic of the system of Romanian socialist democracy. This is reflected, among other things, in the existence of many twofold party and state organs and in the adoption of measures to strengthen the direct responsibility of the party personnel in the state organs on the county, municipal, city and communal levels. Experience has confirmed the political value of those measures and demonstrated their good effects, leading to more efficient party and state activity, elimination of duplications, and closer correlation of party work with the political task of socioeconomic management and with development of the national economy.

The party general secretary has stated that party leadership in Romanian society does not replace the state organs under any circumstances, and that it does not and cannot detract in any way from the state organs' responsibility to the law and the people. Realizing that no hierarchy of importance between the two entities can be established, the RCP has lent the state added authority and a greater role in management of Romanian society.

As it was emphatically pointed out at the recent Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Main Party Activists, the transition to a new stage of national development and of the RCP Program requires very determined efforts toward the further improvement and efficiency of the system of workers revolutionary democracy, social management and planning on the basis of the Unified National Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, self-management, and economic-financial self-administration.

As they celebrate the anniversary of ratification of the Constitution, the entire Romanian people are reaffirming their ardent love for the party and their unbounded confidence in it and its general secretary as well as their resolve to steadfastly implement the party's and state's domestic and foreign policy devoted to socialist Romania's further progress and prosperity. Inspired by the encouragement and directions of Nicolae Ceausescu, party general secretary and president of the Republic, the workers of all nationalities and the entire nation are striving selflessly, responsibly and in complete and close unity for the triumph of the magnificent ideals of socialism and communism, for consolidation of socialist Romania's sovereignty and independence, and for its rise to new heights of progress, prosperity and general advancement.

5186

CSO: 2700/199

ROMANIA

ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF MINISTRY OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 40, 10 Aug 85 pp 1-4

[Decree No 243/1985 of the State Council on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry]

[Text] The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. On the date of 10 August 1985, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry is founded.

The Ministry of the Chemical Industry carries out the policy of the party and state in the field of the chemical industry, nonferrous metallurgy, and pulp and paper, providing for the advanced utilization of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy.

The Ministry of the Chemical Industry fulfills the function of coordinating central body for the activities in its field with respect to all the socialist units subordinate to the central or local state bodies and to the cooperative and public organizations.

Article 2. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry manages, guides and oversees the activity of the industrial centrals and of the other units subordinate to it and is responsible, as plan titular, for the fulfillment of the plan in its field of activity.

Article 3. In its activity the Ministry of the Chemical Industry provides for the application of the laws, the decrees and the decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry collaborates with the other ministries and central bodies and with the local bodies in order to perform the duties that devolve upon it.

Chapter II Duties

Article 5. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry is responsible for fulfilling in its field of activity the duties established by means of the present decree.

Article 6. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry provides and is responsible, within the framework of the sole national plan for economic and social development, for the growth at a steady rate of the production of fertilizer, inorganic products, medicine, cosmetics, dyes, lacquers, artificial fibers and threads, nonferrous and rare metals, pulp, paper, equipment and spare parts for its field of activity, to which end:

- a) It prepares development studies and programs, taking into account the orientations and trends of technical progress on a world level and the prospects of developing the deliveries of products of the chemical industry, nonferrous metallurgy, and pulp and paper in its line on the domestic and foreign market;
- b) It prepares the draft annual and long-term plans, and the special programs for products, groups of products and activities, on the basis of its own studies and the proposals of the subordinate units;
- c) It provides for the diversification of production and the continual raising of the qualitative characteristics of the products, with a view to meeting the needs of the national economy and increasing their competitiveness on the international market;
- d) It is responsible for the preparation and application of the rates of consumption of raw materials, supplies and fuel, takes steps to continually reduce the material, energy and manpower consumptions and provides for the recovery and utilization of reusable material and energy resources;
- e) It organizes the preparation of the works on the need for raw materials, supplies and equipment for the subordinate units; it provides for the balancing of the balances for raw materials, supplies, semiproducts and products in its jurisdiction; it prepares the material balances for the products for which it is the coordinator;
- f) It is responsible for attaining the planned production and for fulfilling the other indicators that devolve upon it from the sole national plan for economic and social development and the state budget and from the special programs, periodically informing the Council of Ministers;
- g) It approves the orders for new and modernized products and technologies in its jurisdiction, in accordance with the law;
- h) It determines the need for circulating funds for the subordinate units, in accordance with the legal norms;

- i) It analyzes the periodic reports and balance sheets of the subordinate units and prepares the ones that involve the activity of the whole ministry;
- j) It prepares and executes, in accordance with the law, the income and expense budget for the ministry's central administration and the subordinate budgetary units.

Article 7. In fulfilling the function of coordinating central body, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry provides for:

- a) The specialization, orientation and integration of production in all the units within the branch;
- b) The cooperation between the units subordinate to it and those of other central and local bodies;
- c) The preparation, together with the plan titulars, of the draft plan in branch form, pursuing the balanced development of it;
- d) The guidance and control, over the whole branch, of: the rational utilization of the means of production, the introduction and expansion of new technology, the assimilation of new products and the improvement of the existing ones, the continual raising of the quality of the products, the raising of labor productivity and the reduction of costs, in conformity with the provisions of the special programs approved;
- e) The coordination, guidance and control of the rational use of the equipment, of all the production capacities, and the fulfillment of the plan for construction-assembly and capital repairs on them.

Article 8. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry is responsible for developing the activity of foreign trade and international economic cooperation in its field of activity, to which end:

- a) It prepares the export plan, makes proposals regarding the proportions, structure and orientation of the trade exchanges in prospect and is responsible for fulfilling the export tasks that devolve upon it and the tasks of international economic cooperation in its field of activity;
- b) It organizes and coordinates the activity of economic, technical and scientific collaboration and cooperation with other ministries and central bodies in the country and with foreign partners in its field of activity;
- c) It provides and is responsible for the application of the international conventions and agreements referring to the ministry's activity; it oversees and provides for the fulfillment of the obligations that result from them.

Article 9. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry is responsible for continually raising the technical and qualitative level of the products in its field of activity, in accordance with the best results obtained in the country and

abroad, and for ensuring, on this basis, the competitiveness of the products achieved, to which end:

- a) It coordinates and guides the activity of scientific research, technological engineering, and design in the subordinate units and takes steps to provide them with necessary technical-material means;
- b) It follows the results of the scientific research and is responsible for their utilization, providing for the introduction of technical, scientific and economic progress into the subordinate and coordinate units;
- c) It guides the activity involving inventions and innovations and concerns itself with generalizing the most important achievements;
- d) It organizes the activity of typification and standardization in its field of activity and makes proposals regarding the preparation of the typification norms and the standards;
- e) It organizes the technical-documentation activity specific to its field of activity and provides for the informing of the subordinate units with regard to the trends of scientific progress on a national and international level;
- f) It coordinates and oversees the activity of metrology in the subordinate units.

Article 10. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry guides and coordinates the activity of organizing production and labor in the subordinate units. In addition, it organizes the activity of preparing, applying and supervising the labor standards and norms for all categories of personnel in its field of activity; it organizes the preparation of uniform labor standards and norms in the economy for the work for which it is stipulated that it is the initiator, approves the specific norm-setting methodologies and the uniform labor standards and norms for the branch, subbranches and other activities and oversees their manner of application; it promotes the introduction of modern methods and techniques into the organization of production and the management of the economic units.

Article 11. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry exercises, in accordance with law, the powers regarding prices and rates in its branch and subbranches of activity.

Article 12. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry is responsible for the application of the policy of the party and state on personnel and pay matters, to which end:

- a) It establishes uniform criteria for selection, training, advanced training, and promotion of the personnel in its branch and subbranches of activity and oversees their application;
- b) It determines the future need for personnel and takes steps to train them, in accordance with the law;

- c) It hires the personnel for its own apparatus; it appoints the management bodies of the centrals, the comparable units and the other directly subordinate units, in accordance with the law;
- d) It organizes and provides for the advanced training of the management personnel and the specialists;
- e) It is responsible for the tasks that devolve upon it with regard to the integration of education with production and scientific research and the coordination of the activities of the educational units with dual subordination, in the field of preparing and fulfilling the annual plans for research, design and microproduction;
- f) It participates in the preparation of the proposals regarding the improvement of the elements of the pay system, organizing the preparation of studies for this purpose;
- g) It provides for the uniform application of the elements of the pay system on the basis of the principle of overall piecework for the branch and the coordinate subbranches;
- h) It establishes, in accordance of the law, measures regarding labor protection and provides the best working conditions for the prevention of work accidents and occupational ailments at the subordinate units;
- i) It establishes general measures for continually improving the working and living conditions of the personnel.

Article 13. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry is responsible for also performing other duties, established in accordance with the law.

Chapter III Organization and Operation

Article 14. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry is managed by the management council, which decides on the general matters concerning the activity of the ministry; the collective leadership of the operational activity of the ministry and the providing of the implementation of the decisions of the management council are achieved by its executive bureau.

The ministry's management council and its executive bureau, bodies with a deliberative character, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on the Management of the Ministries and Other Central Bodies of the State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

Article 15. The minister informs the management council of the ministry about the main problems solved in the period between sessions.

Article 16. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry has in its management one minister and three deputy ministers.

The deputy ministers are appointed by means of a presidential decree, and their duties are established by the management council of the ministry.

Article 17. The minister represents the ministry in relations with other bodies and organizations in the country and in international relations.

Article 18. The Technical and Economic Council, a working body alongside the ministry's collective-leadership bodies, is organized and operates, in accordance with Decree No 78/1973, within the Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

Article 19. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry has the following organizational structure:

- a) The Directorate for the Plan, Production and Development;
- b) The Technical, Investment and Construction Directorate;
- c) The Directorate for Mechanical Power and Automation;
- d) The Directorate for Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation;
- e) The Directorate for Supply and Contracting;
- f) The Directorate for Finances and Prices;
- g) The Directorate for Organization, Control, Personnel, Education and Pay;
- h) The Secretariat and Administrative Service.

The organizational structure according to work departments and the maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the ministry are those given in Appendix 1* and Appendix 2.*

The duties and the operating standards of the departments mentioned in Paragraph 1 are established by the management council of the ministry, in accordance with the legal norms.

Article 20. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry has subordinate to it industrial centrals and units comparable to them, enterprises, units for scientific research, technological engineering, and design, other units, specialized secondary schools and vocational schools for training the specialized personnel.

Article 21. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry has directly subordinate to it the units given in Appendix 3.

* The appendices are communicated to the institutions involved.

Chapter IV
Final Provisions

Article 22. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry is equipped with three automobiles for transportation of persons for its own common fleet and with one automobile for support.

Article 23. The personnel who move to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, organized by means of the present decree, are considered transferred in the interest of service.

Article 24. The personnel transferred in the interest of service or moved in the same unit to positions with a lower pay level and the personnel becoming available as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree have the rights provided in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the Establishment of the Uniform Structural Standards for the Economic Units.

Article 25. The provisions of Decree No 367/1980 on Some Measures for the Rational Utilization of the Personnel in the Socialist Units, whose applicability was extended by means of Decree No 451/1984, do not apply in 1985 to the posts in the apparatus of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and to those in the units to and from which the personnel are transferred as a result of the provisions of the present decree.

Article 26. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of the proposals of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the other bodies involved, will submit for approval the changes that result from the application of Decree No 242/1985 on the Founding of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and the Ministry of the Petrochemical Industry and from the present decree in the sole national plan for economic and social development and in the volume and structure of the state budget for 1985.

Article 27. The provisions of laws, decrees and other regulatory acts referring to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry apply accordingly to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, organized in conformity with the present decree, in accordance with its object of activity.

Article 28. Appendices 1-3 are an integral part of the present decree.

Article 29. Decree No 675/1969 on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry is repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 10 August 1985.
No 243.

Appendix 3.

Ministry of the Chemical Industry

The Units

Directly Subordinate to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry

I. Industrial Centrals

1. Craiova Industrial Central for Chemical Fertilizer
2. Tirgu Mures Industrial Central for Chemical Fertilizer
3. Bucharest Industrial Central for Medicine and Cosmetics
4. Bucharest Industrial Central for Dyes, Lacquers and Detergents
5. Braila Industrial Central for Artificial Fibers and Threads and for Pulp
6. Bacau Industrial Central for Pulp, Paper, Cardboard and Containers
7. Rimnicu Vilcea Industrial Central for Inorganic Products
8. Branesti Industrial Central for Nonferrous and Rare Metals
9. Bucharest Central for Equipment and Spare Parts for the Chemical Industry

II. Other Units

1. Bucharest "Chimica" Foreign Trade Enterprise
2. Bucharest Enterprise for Supply, Sales and Transportation for the Chemical Industry
3. Constanta "Chimpex" Enterprise for Conditioning and Delivery of Chemical Products
4. Bucharest Computer Center*
5. School units

* It also serves the Ministry of the Petrochemical Industry.

12105

CSO: 2700/210

ROMANIA

MEASURES FOR IMPROVING ACTIVITY OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRY UNITS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 40, 10 Aug 85 pp 4-8

[Decree No 244/1985 of the State Council on Some Measures for Improving the Activity of the Units Subordinate to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry]

[Text] The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. On the date of 10 August 1985, the following centrals are founded under the subordination of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

- a) The Industrial Central for Chemical Fertilizer, with headquarters in the municipality of Tirgu Mures, on the structure of the Tirgu Mures Chemical Fertilizer Combine, having as an object of activity the production of chemical fertilizer, photosensitive products and other chemical products;
- b) The Industrial Central for Medicine and Cosmetics, with headquarters in the municipality of Bucharest, on the structure of the Bucharest Medicine Enterprise, having as an object of activity the production of medicine, cosmetic products and other chemical products;
- c) The Industrial Central for Dyes, Lacquers and Detergents, with headquarters in the municipality of Bucharest, on the structure of the Bucharest "Policolor" Lacquer and Paint Enterprise, having as an object of activity the production of dyes, lacquers, paint, ink, detergents and other chemical products;
- d) The Industrial Central for Artificial Fibers and Threads and for Pulp, with headquarters in the municipality of Braila, on the structure of the Braila Fiber, Pulp and Paper Combine, having as an object of activity the production of pulp, artificial fibers and threads and other chemical products;
- e) The Industrial Central for Pulp, Paper, Cardboard and Containers, with headquarters in the municipality of Bacau, on the structure of the Bacau "Letea" Pulp and Paper Combine, having as an object of activity the production of pulp, paper, cardboard, articles and containers.

The Tirgu Mures Industrial Central for Chemical Fertilizer is founded through the division of the Craiova Industrial Central for Chemical Fertilizer, which is reorganized.

The Bucharest Industrial Central for Medicine and Cosmetics and the Bucharest Industrial Central for Dyes, Lacquers and Detergents are founded through the division of the Bucharest Industrial Central for Medicine, Cosmetics, Dyes and Lacquers, which ceases its activity.

The Braila Industrial Central for Artificial Fibers and Threads and for Pulp and the Bacau Industrial Central for Pulp, Paper, Cardboard and Containers are founded through the division of the Braila Industrial Central for Fibers, Pulp and Paper, which ceases its activity.

Article 2. On the date of 10 August 1985, the Bucharest Enterprise for Supply, Sales and Transportation for the Chemical Industry is founded, under the subordination of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, having as an object of activity supply, sales, production of containers, display, services and transportation of the products of the chemical industry, and straw collection.

The Bucharest Enterprise for Supply, Sales and Transportation for the Chemical Industry is founded through the reorganization of the Bucharest Enterprise for Supply and Sales of Chemical Products, The Bucharest "Transchim" Enterprise for Transportation in Chemistry, the Bucharest Enterprise for Display and Containers for Chemical Products and the Glina Commune Unit for Collection and Transportation of Straw for the Pulp Industry, which cease their activity.

On the same date, the Supply Base for Equipment and Spare Parts for the Chemical Industry, with headquarters in the municipality of Bucharest, is founded, under the subordination of the Bucharest Central for Equipment and Spare Parts for the Chemical Industry, under the guidance and control of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, having as an object of activity the supply and storage of equipment, spare parts, and materials specific to the chemical industry.

The base is founded through the division of the activity of the Ploiesti Supply Base for Equipment and Spare Parts, which ceases its activity.

Article 3. The units founded in accordance with articles 1 and 2 operate on the basis of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration, with a juridical personality, and are organized in accordance with the legal norms on the organization and management of the socialist units.

The grades of organization and the groups of branches into which are put the units founded in conformity with articles 1 and 2 and the units that change their grade of organization are given in Appendix 1.*

Article 4. The industrial centrals subordinate to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry have the organizational structures given in appendices 2a-2i* and have subordinate to them the units given in appendices 3a-3i.

The maximum number of posts in the own apparatus of the industrial centrals subordinate to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry is given in Appendix 4.*

* The appendices are communicated to the institutions involved.

Article 5. The maximum number of posts of principal engineer, economist, chemist and physicist I and II at the industrial centrals subordinate to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry is given in Appendix 5.*

Article 6. The units founded in accordance with articles 1 and 2 are equipped with one automobile each for transportation of persons on official business and with one automobile each for support in accordance with the criteria provided by law.

Article 7. The units mentioned in Appendix 6 change, as the case may be, their name, headquarters or subordination or supplement their object of activity.

Article 8. Appendix 4 provided for Article I and Appendix 21, Point IV, provided for Article II of Decree No 136/1984 on the Improvement of the Activity of Foreign Trade are amended in accordance with appendices 7 and 8.*

Article 9. The assets and liabilities established on the basis of the balance sheet concluded on the date of 1 August 1985, together with the economic and financial plan indicators and the contracts concluded, pass from the units that relinquish them to the units that receive them, in accordance with the present decree, on the basis of a protocol.

The personnel who move from one unit to another, within the framework of the reorganizational measures provided in the present decree, are considered transferred in the interest of service.

Article 10. The personnel transferred in the interest of service or moved in the same unit to positions with lower pay levels and the personnel becoming available as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree have the rights provided in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the Establishment of the Uniform Structural Standards for the Economic Units.

Article 11. The provisions of Decree No 367/1980 on Some Measures for the Rational Utilization of the Personnel in the Socialist Units, whose application was extended by means of Decree No 451/1984, do not apply in 1985 to the posts to which the personnel remaining available are reassigned and to the posts in the units to and from which the personnel are transferred as a result of the application of the present decree.

Article 12. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of the proposals of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, will submit for approval, within 45 days, the changes that result from the application of the present decree in the sole national plan for economic and social development and in the volume and structure of the state budget for 1985.

Article 13. Appendices 1-8 are an integral part of the present decree.

* The appendices are communicated to the institutions involved.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 10 August 1985.
No 244.

Appendix 6

Units
That Change Their Name, Headquarters or Subordination or Supplement Their
Object of Activity

Name and Headquarters of Unit		Subordination	
Before Organization	After Organization	Before Organi- zation	After Organization
1. Bucharest Industrial Central for Nonfer- rous and Rare Metals	Branesti Industrial Central for Nonfer- rous and Rare Metals	--	--
2. Bucharest "Neferal" Metallurgical Enterprise	Branesti "Neferal" Metallurgical Enterprise	--	--
3. Constanta "Chimpex" Enterprise for Con- ditioning and Deliv- ery of Chemical and Petroleum Products	Constanta "Chimpex" Enterprise for Conditioning and Delivery of Chemical Products	--	--
4. Bucharest "Chimim- portexport" Foreign Trade Enterprise	Bucharest "Chimica" Foreign Trade Enterprise*	--	--
5. Bucharest Computer Center of the Chemical Industry	Bucharest Computer Center	--	--
6. Bucharest General Contractor-Trust for Construction-Assembly and Repairs in the Chemical Industry	--	Ministry of the Chemical Industry	Bucharest Central for Equipment and Spare Parts for the Chemical Industry

The Bucharest Central for Equipment and Spare Parts for the Chemical Industry supplements its object of activity with: "construction-assembly and repairs."

* The Bucharest "Chimica" Foreign Trade Enterprise has the object of activity given in Appendix 7.

Appendix 7

Ministry of the Chemical Industry

<u>Name and Headquarters of Enterprise</u>	<u>Subordination of Enterprise</u>	<u>Object of Activity According to Main Groups of Products</u>
1. Bucharest "Chimica" Foreign Trade Enterprise	Ministry of the Chemical Industry	<p>Exportation</p> <p>Chemical fertilizer Medicine Pharmaceutical products Cosmetic products Dyes and intermediates Lacquers and paint Detergents, soap Acetic acid Pulp Paper Cardboard Paper and cardboard articles Artificial threads and fibers Special products Other products of the centrals for which it performs export and import activity</p> <p>Importation</p> <p>Phosphorite Assortments of pulp, cardboard and paper, auxiliary products specific to the pulp and paper industry Medicine and medicinal products for human use Other raw materials for the centrals for which it performs export and import activities</p>

12105

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ROMANIA

GUIDING ROLE OF PARTY IN SOCIETY STRESSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 15, 10 Aug 85 pp 9-13

[Article by Dr Marin Nedelea: "The Party As the Leading Political Force in Romanian Socialist Society"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We must always keep the active and innovating revolutionary spirit of the party and its theoretical and ideological work alive and keep working for improvement and advancement of the party's leadership in keeping with the new stages and the requirements of socioeconomic, scientific and cultural development. Let us make every effort so that the RCP will always be a revolutionary party, stimulating all development and maintaining the Romanian people's patriotic and militant revolutionary spirit!"

Celebration of important events in Romania's recent history, among which the victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation inaugurating the new course of Romania's development is crucial, rightly occasions a clear presentation of the lessons of the course taken and the sources of Romanian socialist society's strength and vitality, the consolidation and better use of which are a lasting guarantee of a continuous advance on the path of material and cultural progress, independence and sovereignty.

This viewpoint brings out even more fully and comprehensively the RCP's vital political role in the decisive revolutionary turning point of 23 August 1944 and in the rich epic of the Romanian people's laborious effort in the following decades to gradually eliminate the remnants of the past domination of the exploiting classes and all that was obstructing and restricting the nation's aspirations and efforts toward freedom and progress, and to build the new democratic and socialist institutional structure wherein there has been an extraordinary development of the nation's creative powers and the workers' talents and ingenuity, reflected in the high level of the productive forces, in the new face of the cities and villages, and in the Romanian citizens' present mentality.

Objective historical development and the telling role of the RCP in instituting the political and socioeconomic reforms, in uniting and mobilizing the efforts of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the entire people

to carry out its policy of constantly bringing Romania up to new heights of civilization, welfare and culture have justified, under the particular Romanian conditions, the RCP's historical mission and its qualification as the leading political force and vital center of the nation and the whole social organism. As the party general secretary pointed out in his address to the recent Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the main party activists on the 20th anniversary of the Ninth Party Congress, "We are fully justified in stating that we have a strong and united party, followed with confidence by the entire people, that is performing its historical mission of leading the entire nation toward the golden dream of communism with all dedication and consistency."

The Vital Center of the Nation

The development of the RCP in the years since the victory of the August 1944 Revolution and especially in the period following the Ninth Party Congress, the evolution of its relations with society, and the growth of its social role have borne out the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory about the revolutionary party of the working class and have also creatively enriched the world's revolutionary experience and the communist and workers parties' theory and practice and made a major contribution to development of the conception of the party and its forms of organization and action under the new internal and international conditions.

The new consistently revolutionary and truly innovating theoretical and political spirit the party's whole activity acquired under Nicolae Ceausescu's leadership made it possible to reexamine the party's stands and policies on all questions of socialist construction critically and on scientific and militant grounds, to correlate them consistently with the requirements of the general laws and the specific Romanian conditions, and to arm the communists and all workers with a truly effective political policy in full accord with the socialist ideals and national interests and followed with confidence by the Romanian people. Major changes were made in the party's nature and characteristics, in its forms of organization, and in its working methods in the course of the creative, independent development of its political policy and the inspired efforts of the party organs and organizations to mobilize the masses to carry it out, and in connection with the radical changes made in all social activities.

In pointing out the dialectical law of the party's development and renovation in step with the overall evolution of society, Nicolae Ceausescu accordingly formulated a fundamental principle of the party's activity and of the theory of the revolutionary party, which is not to be viewed as anything atemporal or as a rigid embodiment of any organizational or operational principles laid down once and for all, but as a living social organism subject to change and evolution in close interconnection with the social and national environment in which it operates in accordance with the particular content of the general developmental stage. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Like any living organism or any political organism, the party has been undergoing changes. It has to change with the changes that take place in society." (1)

This important political fact is graphically illustrated by the RCP's internal historical evolution in the last 20 years in keeping with the initial period of socialist construction and revolution. The party membership grew considerably

in those years and the RCP became a mass communist party, uniting 32.91 percent of the employed population and 22.17 percent of the adult population in its ranks. The party's complement reflects the social structure of the population proportionally, the workers accounting for 55.67 percent of the membership, the peasants 15.67 percent, and intellectuals and office workers 20.65 percent. The national party complement also reflects the national population structure, and 32.50 percent of all party members are women. Accordingly, both politically and in its social composition the RCP has become a party embodying the interests and aspirations of the entire people and the entire nation and mobilizing, through its members' political work among all the social classes and categories, the entire people to carry out its policy. Meanwhile the party's militant revolutionary spirit, its internal democracy, and its democratic collaboration with the masses have been developed, and the political and ideological activity of the party members and cadres has been greatly intensified, as well as political-educational work among the public.

Upon scientifically surveying the main content and general outcome of the qualitative changes gradually accumulated in the party's organization and activity in the years of socialist construction and especially after the Ninth Party Congress Nicolae Ceausescu drew the conclusion of crucial theoretical and practical significance that "The party is the nucleus around which the whole society gravitates and which radiates the energy and light that activate and secure the operation of the whole mechanism of the socialist system. In its turn the party is constantly regenerated under the impact of the powerful beams of light and energy constantly reaching it from the Romanian socialist nation. We can say that the RCP functions as the vital center of the whole Romanian social system. Normal operation of that center is indispensable to the further development of socialist society." (2)

The party's evolution and that of all Romanian society in the last 20 years have fully confirmed the correctness of that conclusion and the RCP's actual role as the vital center of society's operation and of the entire social mechanism's self-regulation. The Romanian communists' recent national forum, the 13th Party Congress, quite rightly reaffirmed the point in its adopted resolution that in applying scientific socialism and the historical and dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception to the particular Romanian conditions and in fully identifying itself with the masses' vital interests "The RCP is honorably performing its role as the vital center of society and as the driving force of the entire people's creative energies on the course of socialism and communism." (3)

The whole process of socialist revolution and construction in Romania conclusively proves that the emergence of the RCP as an effective and efficient political leader is a result of historical experience, of the objective conditions and requirements of socialist society's development, and of the party's ability to answer the vital questions of socioeconomic development properly, and to embody the masses' aspirations to freedom, progress and prosperity. That role was built and is strengthened by the entire people's allegiance to the party's ideals and policy, a policy that reflects the unanimous will of socialist Romania.

The historical legitimacy of the leadership of the RCP as the bearer of the best traditions of the people's struggle for social and national liberation lies in the fact that it has acted and is acting as a faithful exponent of the vital

interests of the working class and entire people. It has been and is militating consistently for Romanian society's progress through its radical renovation by way of revolutionary reforms in order to secure and consolidate its national independence and its more active advancement in the international arena. The RCP did not become the leading political force of Romanian socialist society through any subjective wish. It is the very result of historical development.

The intensive, comprehensive and profoundly creative efforts made in the last 20 years under Nicolae Ceausescu's leadership to place social management on a scientific basis, to develop socioeconomic activity rapidly and harmoniously, and to keep raising the workers' material and cultural living standard have considerably and more and more effectively enhanced the RCP's role and prestige in Romanian society as well as the loyalty and full confidence accorded it by the workers and the entire people.

The RCP's Revolutionary Militancy Is Essential to Its Strengthened Leadership

The RCP's revolutionary and militant character has been developed and reinforced in the years since the Ninth Party Congress, and that is the chief way in which its organization and activity have been improved and a sine qua non for its strengthened leadership in society and for all the great progress made in national development in the last 20 years.

The emphasis upon maintenance and consolidation of the revolutionary spirit in party activity is inherent in the long-range view of outstanding theoretical and practical importance defined by Nicolae Ceausescu in drawing the scientific conclusion about the continuity of the revolutionary process and the revolutionary nature of social development throughout the historical period of the nation's transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. The vital importance attached to this fundamental principle in the party documents and in the party general secretary's works is illustrated by the constant emphasis placed on the need of intensifying the revolutionary spirit in the whole activity and behavior of the communists and other workers and by the special attention given to formation of organizational, institutional structure and the ideological, intellectual climate that can best encourage revolutionary awareness and behavior. The directions clearly formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu in his Report to the 13th Party Congress are in keeping with these continuing efforts: "We must always keep the active and innovating revolutionary spirit of the party and its theoretical and ideological work alive and keep working for the improvement and advancement of the party's leadership in keeping with the new stages and requirements of socioeconomic, scientific and cultural development. Let us make every effort to keep the RCP always a revolutionary party, stimulating all development and maintaining the Romanian people's patriotic and militant revolutionary spirit!" (4)

The consistently revolutionary innovating spirit the party's whole activity acquired under Nicolae Ceausescu's leadership took the form primarily of creative, scientific and enterprising treatment of the vital questions of Romania's advance toward communism, and of developing the original Romanian conception of construction of the fully developed socialist society and of all the processes and phenomena characterizing the present period. That conception has been and is basic to the party's planned efforts toward intensive development of the productive forces, industry, agriculture and the other sectors of modern production and toward a corresponding improvement in relations of ownership and distribution and all social relations, in methods of organization and management, and

in the individual himself as the main productive force and beneficiary of all economic, scientific and cultural development.

Arming the communists, both party members and personnel, with the scientific revolutionary conception of the world and life, with theoretical analyses and new principles, and with programs planned by the party with the telling aid of its general secretary for all social activities and the major problems of domestic and foreign policy has ensured a considerable improvement in the whole party's theoretical, ideological and political standards and in its members' ability to understand the party's policy and decisions thoroughly, to relate to the goals set, and to work with higher communist standards and social effectiveness to carry them out in practice.

Meanwhile the extensive effort made throughout those years at Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative to indoctrinate party members and personnel in a militant, responsible spirit of resolute opposition to all that is old and outmoded, of bold and timely elimination of negative situations, and of determined promotion of the new in all activities is particularly important to the emergence of the party as a revolutionary force.

Development of the party's leadership in all social activities and accomplishment of its historical mission entirely depend upon strengthening the responsibility of the communists and other workers for fulfillment of the social obligations and entrusted tasks, and upon the enthusiasm, determination and skill with which each one works at his job for the best performance of production tasks, for consistent promotion of the socialist principles in all social relations and any civic behavior, and for observance of the standards of socialist ethics and justice. The political and educational measures pursued in recent years to provide for strict order and discipline in production and in all socioeconomic activity have been and are contributing to this, as well as the extensive programs to induce all workers to know and observe the party and state decisions and the laws of the land.

Nicolae Ceausescu completely established the political-organizational principle, reaffirmed by the 13th RCP Congress, that the party is no abstract entity but the entirety of its members. The party members are the same as the party itself. The party's leadership takes the form of the daily work of every party organ and organization and of every communist. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, "Every party organization and every party member must function as the leading political force in the units wherein they operate." (5)

As the 13th Party Congress pointed out, for the party organs and organizations, to act as a revolutionary means to be in the forefront of the effort toward precise fulfillment of the plan objectives, which is the concentrated expression of the party policy on the economic level, and toward mobilization of all workers in the collectives of the socioeconomic units wherein they operate to performance of their tasks with the efficiency and in the quality required by the present stage of the nation's development. The party and its general secretary believe the telling criteria of the effectiveness of party activity are the extent to which fulfillment of all social tasks is assured, beginning with the critical production tasks, and the ability of the party organs and organizations to lead

the practical work of implementing the programs for socioeconomic development competently and wisely and to provide exacting guidance and efficient control of that work as well as proper assignment of the forces for exemplary fulfillment of the party policy and decisions.

In Nicolae Ceausescu's view the RCP's development as an active revolutionary body and the best performance of its mission in society also heavily depend upon understanding of the fact that neither the organizational structures nor the working methods of the party itself are immutable, rigid or laid down once and for all but must be constantly improved in keeping with the changes in society and the ever new requirements of political, economic, social and intellectual development. With this in mind the party's organizational principles and standards were examined in depth and its regulatory provisions and forms of organization were further improved in order to stimulate in this way too the development of the role of the party and its members and organizations in accordance with the higher standards of the present developmental stage.

Moreover the party and Nicolae Ceausescu particularly stress the need of further improvement of the working methods and approach of the party organs and organizations through a regular critical and self-critical evaluation of their activity, so that they can cover all the tasks and perform them well and can intervene promptly and efficiently by taking appropriate political measures to forestall or eliminate lags, difficulties or shortcomings. Knowledge and application of advanced experience are vital to improvement of their working methods and approach, as well as more extensive use in their activity of scientific principles and methods in studying the social phenomena, in organizing work to carry out the party's decisions and their own plans and decisions and in examining their actual effectiveness.

The RCP is functioning as a revolutionary party and the vital center of the entire nation by the methods of workers revolutionary democracy and by integrating itself more and more intensively in society in permanent contact and cooperation with the masses and the people as a whole. In the years since the Ninth Party Congress, at the initiative and under the direct guidance of its general secretary the RCP has resolutely eliminated the remnants of erroneous attitudes of disregard or underestimation of the importance of the party's contact with the masses and of their crucial role that had some circulation in the past, as well as the dictatorial and arbitrary methods contrary and harmful to the interests of the party and socialism that were retarding the growth of the party's influence and distorting its political image.

The Party's Increasingly Pronounced Integration in Society

The theoretical conception of the party crafted by Nicolae Ceausescu in the whole process itself of shaping the party's present character is based on the fundamental principle, truly revolutionary in the favorable effects of its application in practice, that "The party leads not in the name of but jointly with the working class and all workers regardless of nationality and with the entire people." (6)

That fundamental principle was reaffirmed quite clearly in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Main Party Activists

in July 1985, when he pointed out that "All organs of social management must always serve the masses' interests under any circumstances, and they must be under the people's control and general guidance!"

In bringing out the objective correlation between the party and society, Nicolae Ceausescu also emphasized the natural interdependence between development and extension of democracy in society and the state, and within the party itself. He said in his Report to the 13th RCP Congress, "Development of the party's internal democracy is a crucial factor for consolidation of workers revolutionary democracy." (7)

The effort to secure the party's democratic operation, reflected in the steady improvement of its organizational principles and standards in the last 20 years, is most completely and specifically indicated in the corresponding provisions of the RCP Charter, which was reconfirmed with a number of modifications, additions and qualifications by the recent supreme forum, the 13th Party Congress. The Charter specifies that all party organs, from the bottom to the top, are elected by secret ballot and are required to submit periodic reports to the party organizations and to inform the party members and activists regularly of the the party's policy and the main decisions and measures it adopts. The regulatory provisions concerning preliminary discussion in the party organizations and with the workers of the main socioeconomic measures to be taken are also vital to consistent promotion of internal party democracy, as well as the proportional representation of the party organizations in the supreme organs, preliminary discussion in the general assemblies and party conferences of all candidacies for the higher organs, application of the principle of rotation and proportionality in electing members of the new organs, the principle of collective labor, etc. All those provisions express in organizational terms the party's major political effort to secure its consistent operation as a fully democratic body and they illustrate the institutional structure that has helped to assert the RCP as the truly democratic political representative of the working class and all workers.

While developing internal party democracy and providing for discussion of all questions of internal and external policy by the whole party and for all communists' participation in making general policy and in implementing the decisions and applying them in practice, the party constantly tries to integrate itself in society more and more completely, to develop the democratic forms of cooperation and interaction between the party and the masses, and to involve the masses extensively in discussion of the party's political policy and of the decisions of major importance to society.

In its political theory and practice the party is not outside of the masses nor above them. On the contrary, it is an integral part of the working class and the nation, leading society together with all the workers and the entire people for the purpose of fulfilling their vital and legitimate aspirations and interests and securing all-around social progress. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th RCP Congress, "The party will be strong and will perform its function only together with the masses and the entire people." (8)

The profoundly democratic theory and practice in the matter of the party's relationship to society is reflected primarily in the widespread development of

revolutionary workers democracy and in the institutional structure created to enable all citizens to actually participate in economic, political and social management. Mass and public organizations have been created for this purpose that will include all categories of workers (working personnel, cooperative members, women, youth, Romanian citizens of other nationalities, etc.), their functions are being specified, and the activities of the previous ones are being stimulated as well. The system of workers self-management and self-administration has been introduced in the socioeconomic units, and democratic public bodies have been instituted for the workers' direct participation in discussion and solution of problems of social management, namely the national councils and congresses for various activities. The democratic principles have been broadened in the organization and operation of the organs of state power and administration and in the electoral system, while new and original ways of combining state and public activity with that of the party have been promoted and party-state bodies have been formed. Moreover steps are being taken to best combine representative democracy with the activity of the new democratic bodies in order to make full use of the potential of the original uniform system of Romanian socialist democracy.

Meanwhile the harmful idea has been eliminated of regarding the state organs, mass and public organizations and other democratic bodies as mere drive belts between the party and the masses. In the party's relations with these bodies and organizations the principle has been consistently promoted of encouraging their initiative and sense of responsibility for performing their own functions. Steps have been taken and especially organizational ones to avoid detrimental overlapping and duplications as well as petty supervision or replacement of them by the party organs. Their management by the party is a political leadership and not an administrative one. The party members belonging to these bodies or their administrations work within them to promote the party's political policy through their activity and influence, and they are responsible to the party organizations for the efficient performance of their tasks in the state or public organizations. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the recent Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Main Party Activists that "The party personnel, organs and activists must not work above the state or socioeconomic organs but inside them, integrating themselves in the latter's whole activity and being the most active in unfailing implementation of the laws and decisions and the plans for socioeconomic development."

The party keeps strengthening its ties with the masses and is integrating itself more and more completely with social activity and all economic and public activity. The party's consultation with the masses on the major questions of domestic and foreign policy is a form of this integration used regularly in the last few years. It is accomplished, among other things, by rallying all citizens to discussion in the FDUS /Socialist Democracy and Unity Front/ of the programs for socioeconomic development, draft laws and decisions, and such urgent matters of international policy as disarmament etc. The party general secretary's working visits to the counties play an important part in maintaining the party's regular dialogue with the people, as well as direct discussion of the major problems with the workers in units in order to make their whole activity more efficient.

Objective Requirements for Developing the Party's Leadership

The urgent objective requirement for bringing socialist society up to new levels of development and the new and very far-reaching problems of progress on the path of socialism and communism necessitate development of the party's role in scientific preparation of political policy, in setting the socioeconomic goals and tasks and in mobilizing the entire nation's creative energies to their successful implementation. Uniform and harmonious management and guidance of development of the economy and all social activities, resolution of the existing contradictions and discrepancies or those that may arise by concerted efforts on the scale of all society, correct determination of priorities, concentration of material and human efforts upon solution of the main problems of every given stage, and discovery and application of the reserves of creative power, all those factors essential to scientific management attest the immense growth of the requirements for purposeful, uniform and efficient social management in direct correlation with the expansion and diversification of the economic and social processes characteristic of a modern economy engaged in a comprehensive effort toward development on an intensive basis.

In view of these urgent objective requirements, the in-depth analysis and decisions approved by the 13th Party Congress marked a crucial point in the improvement of the party's leadership in the new stage of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism. Nicolae Ceausescu's report and the other documents of the congress are the scientific basis of uniform management to secure the harmonious progress of all activities in the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and on to the year 2000.

In its extensive effort toward scientific preparation of the measures and procedures essential to progress and to organize and mobilize the nation's forces to accomplish the aims of the 13th Party Congress, the party is effectively exercising its political leadership in all social activities, from material production to ideological indoctrination and from improvement of social relations to scientific, artistic and cultural activity, in all units and workers collectives.

In the exercise of its political leadership in order to carry out the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for the Advance Toward Communism, the party performs a number of well-defined functions that are not static or immutable but change with the changes in society. The party performs a long-range theoretical function of making general political policy and one of ideological clarification of each stage of national socioeconomic development. It develops a conception of its own, expressed in its program, of the nature and evolution of Romanian socialist society, the objectives, the motive forces, and the courses to be taken.

The RCP also performs an extensive organizational function, acting as the single organizer and coordinator of social activity, securing proper distribution of the forces, and mobilizing and guiding the workers to carry out its decisions, the laws of the state, and the current and long-range tasks.

The RCP attaches particular importance to its political-ideological and educational function, the diversified effort to develop advanced awareness, and formation of the new man as the purposeful builder of socialism and communism. It

indoctrinates its members and personnel in the spirit of the great responsibility they have assumed, fosters the critical and self-critical spirit among them, the will to improve and surpass themselves, and communist humanism as essentials for continuing improvement and renovation of its activity and for development of its role as the leading political force in society.

Strengthening the party's unity and fighting power and the entire people's unity around the party guarantees fulfillment of the historic decisions adopted by the 13th Party Congress and of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism, which is the keystone of continuing improvement of the whole political and social system.

Closely united around the party and its general secretary, the entire Romanian people are celebrating the 41st anniversary of the Revolution for social and national liberation and the 20th anniversary of the historic Ninth Party Congress by further increasing their efforts to carry out the party policy reflecting the workers' interests and aspirations, the objective requirements of contemporary social progress, and their hopes for peace and fruitful collaboration among nations.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 25 March 1981," Political Publishing House [PPH], Bucharest, p 15.
2. Idem, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 4, PPH, Bucharest 1970, p 314.
3. "Resolution of the 13th RCP Congress," SCINTEIA No 13144, 25 November 1984.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 13th RCP Congress," PPH, Bucharest 1984 p 66.
5. Ibid., p 66.
6. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Festive Assembly in the Capital on the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the RCP, 8 May 1981," PPH, Bucharest p 29.
7. Idem, "Report to the 13th RCP Congress," p 53.
8. Ibid.

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CSO: 2700/199

ROMANIA

PUBLIC OPINION DENOUNCES HUCKSTERS ON RAILROAD TRAINS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Rodica Serban]

[Text] In the 26 April edition of SCINTEIA (No 13,274) there was an article about an investigation carried out on several passenger trains, drawing attention to the practice of illicit commerce by several diverse speculators of products purchased in state stores and resold on the train. Naturally, prompt measures are required to curb these flagrant anomalies that contravene ethical norms, the demands of hygiene and even legal regulations.

In this connection we received an appreciable number of very interesting letters from our citizenry that express a firm, common point of view: legitimate indignation at what represents one form or another of parasitism and unearned gain, of the pollution of the social climate and of defiance of the laws and norms of the social contract. At the same time the letters supplied further numerous aspects of this problem with observations, criticisms and suggestions.

Are These Wandering Peddlars Invisible to the Authorities?

"In fact", writes Marin Bujor of Galati, "unbelievable things happen in the stopover from Bucharest to Urzicen. Even for me, a 60-year old man, who has traveled much in our country. With my own eyes I saw these wandering peddlars load their "merchandise" on the train at the North Gate-- bottles of beer and plum brandy, sweets, grape sugar, etc., which they afterwards sold at speculators' prices. What followed? An inferno: a lake of beer on the floor, the stench of plum brandy, shouting, cursing. As was written in the paper, I tried to do something about these speculators. But without support I was in for trouble since these men are very dangerous. It is my opinion that on this route we need to have the legal authorities organize comprehensive all-out actions and those who are caught breaking the law must be brought to trial to receive the appropriate punishment".

On finding that such phenomena also occur in the town in which he lives, as well as on the trains that come from or leave for Bucharest, Vasile Tutungescu of Orsova has put together several proposals: the legal

authorities--the police and C F R [Romanian Railroads] personnel--should proceed with maximum severity to confiscate products intended for speculation; in that case these so-called "peddlars" would understand that it will no longer work. These actions should not be limited to the trains, but should extend to other crowded locations such as markets, the areas in front of large stores, hotel lobbies, etc.

This is a suggestion that we believe should be taken up. Dishonesty, parasitism, speculation must be combatted and punished with the same perseverance regardless of where it is manifested.

Passivity--An Ally of Parasitism

A full and carefully reasoned letter sent to us by Alexandru Trifan of Aleandria discusses the problem with a series of questions that can be combined into one: what measures can the legal authorities apply to combat this negative state of affairs? The author is of the opinion that if the authorities would fulfill their obligations promptly, the citizenry would intervene more actively for their part in supporting those charged with enforcing the law. But, the author of the letter states, the legal authorities responsible for the trains are not acting firmly and consistently, which does not promote an intransigent attitude on the part of travelers toward these parasites.

Public opinion is, without a doubt, a force that these people must fear. Indifference can only encourage them in their illegal practices.

Here is what Victor Tanasie of Craiova says in his letter. Citing a string of examples of such things as speculators present at fairs, markets, train stations, bus terminals, stadiums and virtually any crowded place, the author of the letter stresses that: these marginal people are very successful in finding lots of loop-holes to squeeze through. Is there really no possibility of putting an end to the parasitic existence that these people lead before our very eyes and, worse, at our expense"? These so-called "peddlars", the author continues, are very capable, have a good grasp of what is in demand and what "could be sold" at certain popular events or on holidays in a given location or its environs and immediately prepare all kinds of trinkets with which to catch the traveler's eye, cheating and fleecing him with scandalous prices. The reader asks very properly in his letter whether cottage industry cooperatives or other state producers couldn't take the initiative in producing these articles, since the public considers them useful, and thus curb the possibilities for speculation on the part of these individuals?

What Is the Response of the Authorities?

Having considered several extracts from letters received from citizens, from the ranks of travelers, I waited with great interest for the opinion and, even more, the measures of the authorities.

Recently the editors received a response on the part of the Bucharest region of the national railroad (under the signature of the director general

of the Bucharest region of the national railroads, Aurel-Dumitru Popa, in which he points out that the railroad authorities, together with the transportation police, have been carrying out frequent control actions, particularly on the above-mentioned routes, which are aimed at hunting down these "wandering peddlars" and confiscating the merchandise. "I might mention", he says in his response, "that in the first 4 months of 1985 we have carried out 37 such actions, in the course of which we traced 175 violations of Law 10, including the sale of food and beverages, for which we levied fines of about 105,000 lei, while the confiscated merchandise was turned back to the economy".

With respect to the things pointed out in the newspaper and which were confirmed in their entirety, the Bucharest railroad region announces that it has, in addition, taken these further measures: working out anew with all Romanian state railroad personnel the need, on passenger trains, of taking a firmer stand against those who sell food and alcoholic beverages on the trains; the solicitation of more substantial support from the railroad police to increase the number of control actions on the trains.

On the other hand the conclusions of the published articles do not concern only this region but other Romanian state railroad regions as well and the forces of law and order, including the economic police.

But, apart from the response we have just mentioned, we have not received any others, although it has been 2 months since the publication of the investigation. Of course we will return to concrete situations in order to achieve real progress in driving out speculators and, in general, uncivilized attitudes that still exist in this area.

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YUGOSLAVIA

POSSIBILITY OF MULTICANDIDATE ELECTIONS SURVEYED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1807, 18 Aug 85
pp 12-14

[Article by Velizar Zecevic and Milan Milosevic: "Democracy of One Candidate"]

[Text] We have begun to count off the months until the electoral season in the middle of next spring, when finally, adult working people must be offered the opportunity to elect and be elected, or just to vote for their own delegates and delegations. The party elections, which are no less complicated, are also drawing closer. The state, the party, and self-management will thus almost simultaneously be posed a vital question: who will represent and lead them? Who will elect or vote, who will have to be satisfied with his place in the delegate or electoral base, and who will successfully surmount the procedural electoral labyrinths and after everything, attain the roles and posts of representatives and officials?

Another 8-9 months remain until the moment when we will know for sure who will represent and make decisions on behalf of whom. There is still enough time for candidacies and precandidacies, discussions about candidates, and various verifications, concurrences, and coordinations. The electoral masses and the possible, assumed, or predetermined candidates are keeping themselves warm during this period with the old dilemma, always new before the elections--what kind of electoral system will be used, and whether several candidates will be proposed for each elected office, or only one.

In discussions about the electoral system, the dilemma of "one or several candidates" has almost always been left for the end, as an issue that is "neither the most important or crucial." It is emphasized that what is important is cadre policy, verifying the values and abilities of future representatives and officials, and the democratic procedure for candidacy; and if only one candidate gets through all of this, then that is the one. But if there are several of them?

The shamefaced avoidance of giving a simple answer to this simple question was interrupted a month ago by Dragoslav Markovic, a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. What Dragoslav Markovic first of all said at a restricted meeting (not the framework) and then announced as his own

comprehensive view confirmed that similar views also exist among cadre circles, in bodies and institutions in which the democratization of political life, cadre problems, and the electoral system are discussed, and among the public at large, which is little or insufficiently informed about this. There are also contrary and completely opposite views. In this way, the attempt to face the dilemma of one or several candidates has been torn out of the political cellophane in which it was wrapped along with other disagreements regarding the political system, delegate circles, the constitutional solution concerning the leading role of the LC in Yugoslav society, the ideological heritage, caution, and biases. In the middle of the summer, Dragoslav Markovic's views warmed up the political climate, and, cutting across the different views on the democratization of political life, cited the central dilemma as being the question of whether there is democracy with one candidate.

The individual reactions to Dragoslav Markovic's statement show that the view according to which the "election" of one candidate is the political core, the primary cause of all past forms of electoral systems, is not an isolated one among the political public. Electoral laws change from election to election, but the main thing always remains the same--one candidate for one office. One candidate is the goal, and the electoral system that will make this possible is the means. According to this extreme view, the most influential groups, monopolistic political circles in the government and in the party express their power in such a way as to decide on an electoral system adapted to the principle of one candidate--and naturally they are always in favor of such a system.

"Gradually and Cautiously"

The adherents of the thesis that open candidate lists are part of the rejected "bourgeois legacy" also come together on the other side of the political polarization over the ideological dilemma of whether to have one or several candidates. the presentation of several candidates is associated with multiparty systems, which are inappropriate in socialism and incompatible with the delegate system. The dilemma concerning a larger number of candidates is therefore a false, alien, and nonexistent one.

A public discussion flared up during the past winter and spring between these extreme and mutually exclusive views, stimulated by the work in the federal social councils devoted to the political system, and within that framework, primarily to the electoral system.

The discussion in the federal social councils spread to the councils in the republics and provinces, lasted about 30 days, starting in January 1985, and died out. Actually, nothing has been decided about what was said at that time. It was announced that the electoral system would be shaped in the councils and the Socialist Alliance by the middle of the year. The time has passed, there has been no decision, and the discussions are continuing.

What was said this January about future elections?

It was a time when all the same dilemmas were stressed. Let us enumerate some of them:

How should we make it possible for working people and citizens to propose candidates for responsible posts in political organizations and in assemblies? How should we prevent interventions from the sides, serving to repress broader lists of candidates? How should we avoid having individuals put on the lists of candidates whose candidacy is imperceptibly agreed upon in narrow circles? What should we undertake in order to open the lists, to have several candidates?

At that time, Zvonko Spoljar said in Zagreb that precandidacy activity should "in some way permeate the electoral system with the delegate system." Those who elect, Spoljar said, must be quite clear about the one they elect. It was stated that decisions on candidates must be made by the milieux in which they work, and not by institutions outside (or above) those institutions. But how?

In principle, everyone at the discussion in the Serbian social council agreed that "people must be electors and not voters."

"If those holding public office were elected," Radosin Rajevic said on that occasion, "they would also be responsible, but since they are appointed, their political base is not in the right place, among the electorate."

No explicit commitment to the mandatory presentation of several candidates was adopted or recommended at that meeting either, however. At the discussion in Novi Sad, the idea of several candidates was discussed as a possibility, but there was no decision on whether this principle would be binding. Why?

Istvan Rajcan cited the presentation of several candidates as a democratic legacy, but he noted that "in 1968 in Vojvodina, it made a penetration by anarcholiberalism possible." As Rajcan stated then, one should not renounce having several candidates because of possible manipulations, "but this principle should be applied gradually and cautiously."

The winter and spring phases of the discussions of the electoral system died out, as we stated, and the views and proposals were forwarded to the federal social councils, but, as before, the decision on the mandatory presentation of several candidates was for the most part left for another time or other people.

What is the final position of the federal social councils like? This is not yet known precisely, the proposals are late, but in the meantime we can recall what was said about the existing electoral system:

"The existing electoral system for the assemblies is to a large extent complicated and formalized, some solutions in it are not sufficiently coordinated with the nature of the delegate system and relations in it, and working people and citizens and their delegations are not performing the role that they should have in the delegate system."

In the meantime, the future electors or voters have taken a position on the elections by means of surveys and questionnaires prepared at some scientific institutions and establishments. What did the electors say?

Electors: Most in Favor of Several Candidates

According to the survey conducted immediately after the assembly elections in 1982, 45 percent of those polled stated that the outcome of the elections was as they had wished. Only a somewhat smaller percentage was unsatisfied--45 percent of those polled were more or less reserved regarding the people who were elected; it was said that the ones elected were not only the best. Sergije Pegan of the Institute for the Social Sciences, commenting upon these results in a collection of studies of the assembly elections in Yugoslavia from 1952 to 1982, wrote that obviously "there is a certain gap, or at least shades, between what the citizens wanted and the way that the electoral process turned out."

One of the questions in this survey read as follows: "Should a larger number of candidates be ensured for officials as well?" About 66 percent of those polled feel that it is necessary to have several candidates for officials as well, and not just for delegates; 11 percent think that there should be several candidates for delegate posts; and 20 percent feel that this is not necessary for either. The idea or general rule that several candidates should be ensured for all offices has fewer adherents among professional political workers, within the ranks of officials at the level of interopstina regional communities, and finally, among older people (more than 45 years old). They are more inclined toward the practice of designating only one candidate.

It is interesting to look at what is said by the surveys made several years later in accordance with the same methodology. Research by the Institute for the Social Sciences (its Center for Research on Public Opinion), the results of which were recently processed, shows that 44 percent of those polled (from a representative sample of 1,022 respondents) feel that elections with several candidates are more democratic and that they contribute to the political responsibility of those elected, while 29 percent feel that the essential thing is not how many candidates there will be, but whether these are the best candidates. Six percent of the respondents think that having several candidates leads to a competition of personalities, and creates undesirable consequences.

Elections as a Ceremony

There are also differences within this average. Respondents between 36 and 55 years of age more frequently state that elections with several candidates are more democratic, while among respondents older than 66, there were fewer of those who stated, before these elections, that elections with several candidates were superior.

Differences also exist among individual occupations: agricultural workers (55 percent) and office workers (54 percent) are the only two categories

of occupations in which more than half of the respondents consider elections with several candidates to be superior. Among VK [highly qualified] and KV [qualified] workers, however, this percentage was considerably lower (36 percent for each).

It is interesting that more than half of those who have some social post (54 percent) and members of the Central Committee (53 percent) feel that elections with several candidates are better. Time will show whether these facts indicate a significant shift in awareness in the politically most influential stratum. Several years earlier, as we have seen, in such strata the "one candidate" model was defended with considerably more energy. Only future research will shed more light on this evidence--whether it demonstrates the average awareness is coming close to the proclaimed principle, or whether this may be a result of a change in generations in the politically most active stratum.

All of these shifts, if they can be clearly observed at all, lead one to think about what elections have generally meant in our recent history. Zagreb political scientist Ivan Siber wrote in the collection of studies "Skupstinski izbori u Jugoslaviji 1942-1982" [Assembly Elections in Yugoslavia 1942-1982] about how some period elections were a holiday, and the motivational basis was dual: an interest motivation that took the form of acceptance of the sociopolitical system and a conformist motivation in which the electors went to the elections because it was expected of them, and sometimes under a certain perceived "pressure." It was precisely the postwar period that was marked by an effort to give elections the nature of plebiscitary unanimity or at least a complete triumph of the new.

In the same book, Dr. Stojan Tomic, a Sarajevo political scientist, in analyzing elections during the period of revolutionary etatism, 1945-1953, wrote about how 8,343,455 voters were included in the registers of voters in the elections for the Constitutional Assembly, which is three times as many as in old Yugoslavia (women and youth), but two million people abstained from the elections (he considers them heterogeneous, feeling that they included opposition groups and counterrevolutionary and anti-Communist forces). About 11 percent of the voters (950,986) did not go to the elections, even though this was a plebiscite when not going to the elections was assessed extremely negatively, so that it was considered a gross violation of civic duties and even as a boycott of the new social order. At that time 704,422 voters took a very clear position against the new Yugoslavia, and voted in the ballot box with the rubber pellets especially produced for this in Borovo and Kranj; 194,158 citizens were deprived of the right to vote.

The following years were characterized by a decline in the number of electors who voted against (in Siberia, from 11.51 to 4.8, and in Slovenia, from 16.75 to 5.9). Another change occurred: in Serbia the percentage of voters going to the elections increased from 82.82 (in 1945) to 91.78 (in 1950), while it declined slightly in the other republics.

Ivan Siber, categorizing our electoral periods, writes that the first period was characterized by insistence upon the general political values (democracy, freedom, fraternity, and unity) that were to be realized in the new social order (republic, federation, socialism). This motivational stimulus was manifested in the context of internal resistance (1945) and later, foreign pressures (1950 and 1953).

The next elections, in 1958 and 1963, were of a transitional type. They were dominated by classic political values and political organization, and later by international relations and the state order (1963). The most pronounced political constant then was self-management, and 1969 was dominated by economic problems and matters related to the economy. The elections in 1965, 1967, and 1977 actually took place in a social situation marked by a conflict between etatism and self-management relations.

In the fourth period, which began with the 1974 elections, the center of cadre policy was no longer the individual as a representative, but a "delegate of interests and needs."

In research conducted by the Institute for the Social Sciences in 1969, Mijat Damjanovic noted the following reasons for going to the elections: civic awareness and duty--34 percent of the cases; a feeling of unpleasantness as a result of abstention--10 percent of the cases.

Ivan Siber cites data indicating that there has been an increase in the percentage of voters who go to the elections in order to express their interests in this manner (selection of candidates, support for the system), as opposed to "convenience" voters. His estimate is that in 1965 48 percent were "interest" voters and 52 percent were "convenience" voters, and that with some variations in 1982 73 percent were "interest" voters and 27 percent were "convenience" voters.

It appears from his research that there has been an increase in willingness to accept social functions. Admittedly, it is more pronounced at the so-called simpler, lower levels, and less at the "higher, more complex" ones; but obviously competition is increasing. This is an indication that a certain liberalization of the elections is more likely to threaten individual figures than the political order.

9909

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YUGOSLAVIA

DISPUTE ERUPTS OVER TERMINOLOGY IN CROATIAN TEXTBOOKS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1805, 4 Aug 85
pp 38-39

[Article by Slavenka Drakulic: "Who Is Spoiling 'Croatian Youth'?"]

[Text] Do you know what a "kusalica" is? And magnetic "pobuda"? While you do not need a translation for the Croatian words "glazba" [music] or "skladatelj" [composer], one has to make a certain effort to establish that a "kusalica" is actually a test tube, and that magnetic "pobuda" is magnetic induction. And thus a lightning rod is a "munjovod," and a one-way street is a "zaporni smjer."

A person could easily imagine that in 20 years some sort of hypothetical interrepublic meeting of experts will be held, at which today's elementary school pupils and tomorrow's engineers from Zagreb will talk about a "pretvornik," while their colleagues from Belgrade will stubbornly use the term "konvertor" [converter]. The former will then say "ponovnik" and the latter will say "repetitor" [repeater]. And only when the discussion comes to an active high-frequency research endeavor, i.e. radar, it could happen that someone would recall that an interpreter is also necessary at such meetings, naturally from Croatian to Serbian and vice versa, although it is also possible that in the future social situations these linguistic variations will be interpreted as linguistic riches.

Franjo Butorac's article "Nationalism and Language," which was published in COMUNIST a few months ago (5 July), warns about such phenomena, mainly in textbooks for elementary schools. Aware that it is difficult to prove something like that in a newspaper article, Butorac nevertheless presents a serious and essentially political thesis at the beginning of his article, and says that "the nationalists defeated in 1971 are mostly operating legally today, using means to push the ideas defeated in 1971; they are exceptionally well organized and linked, and are acting deliberately and 'for the long run,' and they are doing so in a particularly sensitive sphere, language and education."

Butorac feels that the goal of this nationalist Reconquista is to take over influential places in culture, and that it is particularly dangerous because the takeover is beginning as early as elementary school, through the textbooks.

Expanded and revised editions are often changed in this one respect, in language, in changed names, in the impoverishment of the language and the imposition of terms from the period of the Independent State of Croatia.

"The linguistic indoctrination of young people really begins as early as elementary school. And it is an indoctrination of which not even the nationalist ideologues of 1971 in Croatia would be ashamed," Butorac says.

Then he talks about extreme examples from the five-language pocket dictionary "Automatizacija" (published by Tehnicka knjiga in Zagreb).

Further on, however, Butorac's article stops being an attempt to prove a thesis, and escalates into reproaches and accusations. This is because only those on the opposite side of the barricade, the nationalists, have time to worry about language. Although in one place he disavows accusing the schools of turning into an institution that trains nationalists, in other places he explicitly says that the schools are becoming "the site of the primary indoctrination... in the classic nationalistic sense," and that "the destruction of the revolutionary legacy is beginning in elementary school textbooks."

The tone of the article becomes sharp and dramatic, and very emotional, culminating in the statement that "the 1971 Croatian Spring has been revived" and in the warning (which borders on panic) that these issues do not leave any time for waiting, since it can be politically dangerous, equivalent to political suicide.

An appeal follows, a call for action by the LC: "This is primarily a warning from a layman who is not an expert on language and is taking upon himself the right to be decently literate, to be bothered by certain things and phenomena, and to state them publicly and call upon the LC and the highest party organs to assess the extent to which these fears are justified; but on the basis of a solid analysis of the language of textbooks and the means of public communication, which ought to be made, as well as a public political assessment of how strong the nationalists are and what role they play in regard to the issue of language."

The long quotations from Butorac's article were necessary for two reasons: first, because it started polemics whose end is not yet in sight, and second, because the outlines of the polemics cannot even have been discerned from the brief reports in the daily press.

In fact, whenever anyone, especially in Croatia, brings up the issue of language, the implications are fairly clear. This has always been a particularly sensitive political area, from the 1967 Declaration on Language, through the Maspok [mass movement] of 1971. All of this linguistic exclusivism leads to ideological exclusivism (and vice versa), and thus also the tendency to "republicanize" the Serbo-Croatian language in accordance with the principle of one language, one nation (one state?) immediately calls to mind the issues of national equality and separate education (for example, for Serbs in Croatia or Croats in Serbia).

The extent to which the language issue is a sensitive and burning one was also shown by the 17 July session of the Croatian Assembly, during which, in the sociopolitical council, delegate Rade Dumanic raised the question of what was true in the article by F. Butorac. The question was immediately answered by Bozidar Gagro, the chairman of Croatia's Republic Committee for Education and Culture.

Gagro emphasized that it is natural that every representative can request a report from the appropriate republic body or even initiate a discussion on this. In his opinion, however, this is a question of the extremely complex and sensitive political nature of the issue, and the speed of the reaction that followed in the Assembly is surprising.

Gagro, in fact, feels that it is not good to react so quickly to newspaper articles "if we have not performed some preliminary analysis," since an answer to such complex questions requires a certain type of caution. He supported Dumanic's proposal for making an analysis of school textbooks, but he did not agree with the general accusation against the school system: "Please, we are speaking of an initial nationalist strike, elementary school indoctrination, accusations against the public news media, etc. These are very far-reaching accusations!"

In his opinion, a newspaper article which in the final analysis (and in the words of Butorac himself) presents a personal opinion "cannot and should not be an occasion or reason for a general debate in the Assembly," since if such important issues are opened up they have to be documented.

It was decided at the Assembly session that the Republic Committee would, as soon as possible, perform the proposed analysis of the textbooks, precisely so that it would be possible to work with arguments in a future discussion and not impressions or personal opinions.

Bozidar Gagro's answer, however, was sharply condemned at the Rijeka SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] meeting that was held on 23 July. The presidency supported Dumanic's request in the Sociopolitical Council and "expressed dissatisfaction and anger with the position of the chairman of the Committee for Education and Culture, Bozidar Gagro, and his disagreements with the positions of Franjo Butorac in KOMUNIST."

This "dissatisfaction and anger" of the Presidency of the Rijeka SUBNOR was also reported by TANJUG, and so afterwards titles appeared in the press like "Poison in Language" [VEČERNJE NOVOSTI], or "Dark Face of Nationalism" [NOVI LIST], which contributed to raising the temperature of the polemics and to even stronger attacks upon Gagro's speech.

In the same issue of NOVI LIST, Vinko Sepic, the president of SUBNOR of the Community of Rijeka Opstinas, in an interview on the occasion of Uprising Day, while speaking about insufficient determination in dealing with nationalism, openly accused "the most highly placed people" of opposing solution of the problems: "For example, we in the Presidency felt it

necessary to support the positions of Franjo Butorac in the article 'Nationalism and Language' that was recently published in KOMUNIST, since opinions had already appeared, from people in very responsible positions, that denied the message in that article.

"Now the question that arises is how to solve these problems when there is resistance from very highly placed people, who either do not realize the dangers of nationalism or who otherwise are 'producing' it themselves. In both cases, they are barriers that we have to tear down because their positions (mistakenly or deliberately) are objectively a hindrance in the continuing ideological struggle."

A procedural interruption by Gagro during the discussion in the Assembly was thus turned into a "denial of the message," which is really a rather disturbing accusation. On the other hand, would it have come to sharp tones at all if this were not in fact a problem, since where there is smoke there is fire? Language is a living and politicized fabric, and to that extent one wants to agree with Butorac's conclusion that "nationalism in language is only a precursor of nationalism in the totality of social life." Actually, nationalism does not have its roots in language, and thus one could say rather that it is a consequence of nationalism in society. Consequently, there is no doubt that the proposed analysis is useful and necessary, but one should not believe that the real causes of nationalism will thereby diminish or disappear, and especially that the dramatic, high-strung tone of the discussion can benefit anyone. Much more is thus necessary, since the issue of tolerance in language is not a matter of linguistic analysis, but a consequence of the general social and even political climate.

The truth is, however, that we should not wait to be "uhiceni" [arrested] if we do not say "brzoglas," "krugoval," "slikopis," "munjovoz," "samokres," "samovoz," "strojnica," "postrojba," "jurisnik," and "poglavnik."

The extent to which this danger is real, among other things, will be shown by the results of the analysis this fall.

[Inset]

Harsh Words: Bozidar Gagro Speaks to NIN

The members of the Presidency of the SUBNOR of the Community of Rijeka Opstinas used harsh words--excessively harsh words--to describe to the public a comment I made in the procedural discussion in the Assembly. My disagreement with the view that nationalist indoctrination is legally taking place in elementary schools and is being continued in the public media, as presented in the newspaper article "Nationalism and Language," was received by the members of that presidency with "dissatisfaction and anger." Some of them went a step further--to ruthless accusation.

There are 28 thousand teachers working in elementary schools in Croatia, and 150 textbooks in use. For the sake of the truth, and for the sake of many dedicated and self-sacrificing people, educational workers whom

I have seen at work from one end of the republic to the other, and who are usually bypassed by social incomes, for the sake of all those who are educating our children not in the spirit of chauvinism, but in the spirit of fraternity and unity, as well as for the sake of the great majority of textbooks that are correctly conceived, precisely in the spirit of fraternity and unity and socialist patriotism, I could not nor can I accept any negative generalization in advance.

I assume that even the author of the article in KOMUNIST did not expect to have his views accepted without discussion, especially since along with his assertion about the "linguistic indoctrination as early as elementary school, of which not even the nationalistic ideologues of 1971 would have been ashamed," he mentioned, by chance or not, the just published list of all the textbooks.

Not agreeing with the generalization, in the brief discussion in the Sociopolitical Council of the Assembly I said, "Surely nationalism can be discussed with examples and with evidence, but not in this way."

Nationalist pressure in the schools exists, just as clerical pressure exists. It primarily comes from outside, but in individual cases and areas it also penetrates within the schools. Nevertheless, the struggle against nationalism in the various forms of training and education is no easier than in any other part of social life today. Like every vicious illness, we can treat nationalism more successfully by eliminating the causes and the diseased tissue than through harsh words. Is it necessary to assure the public that those who are responsible for education policy still know something about it?

For the second year in a row now, Croatia's Republic Committee for Education and Culture has performed an analysis of deviant phenomena among school children and youth. These analyses are available to the assembly delegates. This fall, the Assembly will be sent a report on the educational problem of the schools, and this latest analysis of language in school textbooks, which we agreed to in the Assembly and on which work is already being done; there will be an opportunity to conduct a reasoned discussion and reach more complete conclusions.

9909

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YUGOSLAVIA

BELGRADE PROFESSOR DISCUSSES INCREASED INTEREST IN RELIGION

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 85 pp 32-34

[Interview with Dr Esad Cimić, Yugoslav doctor of sociology of religion and regular professor at philosophy faculty of Belgrade University, by Yugoslav Cosic; date and place not specified]

[Text] Conclusions are rashly drawn regarding the expansion of faith, a resurgence of religion, but what is involved is only curiosity which had been suppressed and has now erupted and the need of young people to test this spiritual sphere as well. I believe that young people's interest in religion is fostered more by the crisis in society than by encouragement through activity on the part of the church. Deficiencies in education, the curricula from secondary schools to university have shunted philosophical content aside and so have left room for the church partly to satisfy and supplement this curiosity of the young.

Appraisal of the role and actual importance of religious denominations and of the theological ideological conception in the development of Yugoslav society is a difficult, responsible, and delicate matter. We sought answers to topical questions in this sphere from Esad Cimić, the first doctor of sociology of religion in Yugoslavia and regular professor at the philosophy faculty of Belgrade University.

[Question] The philosophy faculty of Belgrade University recently received encouraging suggestions from the University Committee of the League of Communists regarding the establishment of departments for postgraduate studies in the sociology of religion. To what extent will the institution of these studies initiate research in the field of religion.

[Answer] It will, of course, do so. We have no complete insight into the state of religious awareness of Yugoslav society. We can say that research on religion has gone the farthest in Slovenia and Croatia. It has not gone so far in the other republics, and has not even begun in some. Thus, on the basis of the existing research we can arrive at conclusions and note trends and possibly, with the support precisely of society, carry out research enabling us to verify our hypotheses extremely cautious intimations.

[Question] Can you give a general evaluation of the extent to which religion is strong enough in our society to determine the processes of conscience or a way of life?

[Answer] We can say that there are not a great number of religious people among us, but that there are many free people who profess religion, on the one hand, while on the other hand we have in the democratization process encouraged some people, especially young persons, to investigate a field which until recently was taboo. Persons who are not well enough informed in this area rashly infer that religious feeling is expanding, that religion is experiencing a resurgence, while in reality, I am firmly convinced, what is involved in many cases is curiosity which had been suppressed and has now erupted, as well as a need of the young to try the waters in this spiritual domain.

The fate of religion in any society, if we judge from the marxist viewpoint, depends on the fate of the radical changes in society and social relationships, on the extent of overall democratization of society. All research indicates that we do not want to eliminate religion through intensive democratization of social relationships, but we do want to eliminate its classic and political content. The moment religion becomes merely a ritual or a spiritual response to human dilemmas, it no longer represents a major problem according to the marxist way of thinking. But as long as it performs the function of encouraging the postponement of a particular social change, preservation of the status quo, that is, as long as it has either overt or covert potential energy, it cannot fail to draw the attention of the subjective forces of society, since it can, like any other social phenomenon, represent an obstacle to social changes.

[Question] Does the interest of young people in religion equal the energy which the church applies to draw their interest to it?

[Answer] I believe that the interest of young people in religion is favored more by the crisis in society than it is stimulated by the church. Certain deficiencies in the process of education, our curricula from intermediate school to university which have shunted aside certain psychological, pedagogical, and broadly speaking philosophical subject matter, have given the church room to some extent to satisfy and supplement this curiosity which society has aroused.

Good prospects for religion are also latent to some extent in the failure of secular ideology, also conceived in the broadest sense and not as debased conscience. Several trends of thought are appearing in the scene in the current pluralistic society of our self-management type. One of them is religious. It would by no means be advisable to suppress any of these conceptions by repressive measures. It must be done altogether by the force of persuasion, or more precisely by establishing the spiritual criteriology which will accept some concepts and reject others.

[Question] What are the ways known to you in which the church tries to interest people and bind them to itself?

[Answer] Depending on their tradition, type of culture, and available personnel and material resources, different denominations, of course assuming interest on the part of real and potential believers, develop a whole

spectrum of methods whereby they try to bind people to themselves or strengthen the bonds with persons already dedicated to them. The church today is less and less engaging in markedly doctrinaire religious activity, and often works toward developing special activities, sometimes quite practical forms of assistance. The Catholic church is unquestionably the most successful in this respect, and the Orthodox and Islamic denominations somewhat less.

[Question] What are the critical areas in which the church looks for good prospects?

[Answer] I think that there are two areas of extremely great importance for contact with the young. One of them is psychological, and the other is what I would term that of philosophical perception. This psychological area is one which the church more or less wants to penetrate in order to resolve the conflicts of youth, the problems of puberty, the conflicts which arise in the relationships between parent and child, society and the adolescent, professional ethics, etc. As regards philosophical perception, the church insinuates itself into this area, without openly saying so, to parry the marxist view of the world. We certainly should not worry about the activities of religious denominations to the extent that these activities remain within the bounds set by positive legal regulations, within which the activities are exclusively religious in nature, in which there are no ulterior motives and provided that people are not set in conflict with each other.

[Question] The Yugoslav press has recently been writing about the Catholic Church in rather dramatic terms. There is even reference to a "powerful expansion of the Catholic Church."

[Answer] A church in a socialist country probably has three courses of action open to it. A denomination can support the existing sociopolitical system in a passive way. The second course is to enter into conflict with this system, and the third is not just to support this system but to cooperate with it actively.

I would say that in our society the predominant mode is aloofness from the system, but also support, and that conflicts are fragmentary in nature. There are nevertheless periods in which the relationships between religious denominations and the state become more tense.

When it comes to the Catholic Church in particular, I believe that there are two questions which have caused no little controversy of late. One of them is the question of blending, or even identification, of the religious and the ethnic. Until we draw a distinction between the religious and the ethnic in our modern society and social system, in practice as well as theory, we will always be tempted [several words illegible in original], often ethnic intolerance. In this sense the domain of interethnic relationships should be free of any religious interference, since it is not inherently appropriate for religion to be politicized, nor is it inherently appropriate for it to interfere in ethnic, political, and social matters.

Another area in which the Catholic Church interferes, and which is a slippery area for it, is that of individual rights and freedoms. When the church has reason to appeal to social agencies, this is a positive aspect. However, if it has no reason to do so, I think that the interference of any church is politically biased and that it is subject to the action of the existing positive laws. Assuming that we have improved conditions in this sphere and have given no grounds whatever for interference either in the sphere of interethnic relationships or in that of civil rights and liberties, we have acquired the moral right to have the social agencies apply measures, even very harsh ones which are legitimate and humane, to make it known to the religious denominations that their meddling in the political sphere is politically highly transparent and biased. In this way we could win over all persons, regardless of whether they are believers or atheists, for a humane socialist policy.

[Question] How do you explain the major gathering of several tens of thousands of people in Marija Bistrica?

[Answer] We are a nation of ethnic groups and nationalities, some large and some small, with a mental makeup such that we enjoy frequent and large-scale celebrations. Because of its centuries of experience, the church long ago recognized this truth and makes abundant use of it, even though there is no dearth of holidays in our modern society as a whole. At the same time, these traditional religious holidays, I am firmly convinced, become political in nature, whether they want to or not, the larger they are in scale.

[Question] What comment do you have to make on the statement by Cardinal Kuharic in the Vatican about denial of religious rights in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Religious freedom in Yugoslavia is very materially and humanely granted in positive legal regulations, from the Constitution to the law on religious denominations in Yugoslavia. Of course, it is much easier to achieve freedom of all forms of conscience, including religious conscience in regulations than in real life, and in real life both are sometimes violated. That is, religious freedom is sometimes violated, individuals are offended in school institutions or, for example, at work, either by taunts or by threatening measures. However, these are isolated incidents.

On the other hand, there is the disregard of some clergymen who do not hesitate to apply psychological intimidation, repressive measures, and certain forms of anathema when it is a question of atheism. Of course, we should not indulge so irresponsibly in mutual generalization.

In the case of Cardinal Kuharic, however, as it was reported in our press, his attack on the lack of religious freedoms, launched outside our country, is incorrect for the simple reason that it would sound much better if it were aimed in the right direction in the country, with demands for investigation of individual incidents and cases. After all, as I pointed out, any generalization creates an atmosphere of intolerance which does no good either to the church or to society as a whole.

[Question] Have you had occasion to meet Kuharic?

[Answer] I have met him several times, once when I asked his permission to conduct a poll among about 500 priests during "priests' week" in Zagreb. On this occasion I received his kind support. The second time came 10 years later when I asked to be allowed to continue this study, and my request was granted by Cardinal Kuharic. But when I arrived for the study, he had changed his mind because the book about Stepinac by Jakov Blazevic had come out just before this survey of mine. The book had introduced a certain amount of tension into church-state relationships, so that, as he expressed it, a slightly neurotic atmosphere had been created in which, in his opinion, I as a sociologist would have difficulty in obtaining an accurate picture and authentic data. But I hope that I will have the opportunity to carry out the survey later.

[Question] When the book "Magnum crimen" (Major Indictment) by the philosopher Viktor Novak was published 15 years ago, it evoked a rather violent reaction by the Catholic Church. Novak was anathematized by the Pope and the Vatican, and this anathema was not removed as long as he lived. Almost the entire printing of this book was bought out in a remarkably short time. According to the information we have, a new edition is in preparation.

[Answer] I can say that the appearance of this book had a very impressive effect. Above all because of its documentation, the insight provided by its fairly analytical approach, it simply swept away one of the problems of clericalism from in front of us. In this sense it had a shocking and sobering effect. I myself while reading this book was inspired possibly to write some day a study of an historical nature about other denominations as well as the Catholic Church, one which would investigate as thoroughly as possible the extent to which the native clergy in Yugoslav territory has been politically committed and with what portent.

[Question] What impelled Viktor Novak to this commitment? Was it only church discipline, erroneous interpretation of directives from the Vatican, or something else?

[Answer] We all noticed that this book sold out quickly. When I later visited churches and monasteries, I noticed this book in almost every large library. In any event, I think that it would be a good idea to reprint the book, since I am sure that the younger generations reading it today would obtain many parameters they hardly have an inkling of. It is a total demystification of a segment of the clergy which compromised itself politically. It is buttressed by many authenticated documents, and in the exposition a portrait is drawn of personalities which is unusually suggestive and interesting, and certainly not devoid of documentary foundation. It is by no means accidental that we have had no students whatever in this area in the wake of the book. It would be interesting to draw a parallel between the church's reaction then and today.

[Question] Do you think that there are any trends here, and if so, in what direction?

[Answer] I cannot help believing that the church hierarchy has undergone a positive metamorphosis in the interim and that it can deny things which are of a purely documentary nature. I think also that this is an occasion for us to engage in a dialogue which will not degenerate into unhealthy polemics, into conflict at any cost, but will rather be an occasion for confrontation of viewpoints. On the other hand, it could provide encouragement for pointing out in connection with this book certain tendencies from the book which may still be in progress today, and also for finding out if the people advocating these tendencies will be leaders in criticism of the book or if the criticism will rest on a much sounder foundation than it has in the past.

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